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WAR DEPARTMENT EDUCATION MANUAL

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*A Political and  
Cultural History of  
Modern Europe*

*In Four Volumes, Volume 1*

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*by Carlton J. H. Hayes*

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#### WAR DEPARTMENT

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## FOREWORD

For two thousand years and more Europe has been the seat of that continuous high civilization which we call "western," — which has come to be the distinctive civilization of the American continents as well as of Europe, and which has latterly affected the peculiar civilizations of the "east" more than these have affected the "west." From Europe have radiated the special influences which distinguish most of the world-wide culture of the present day. It is from modern Europe, primarily, that such influences have so widely radiated.

The story of modern Europe the present work aims to tell. It tells the story in two volumes. The first volume, here presented, treats of the predominantly agricultural society which, growing out of much earlier times and conditions, continued to flourish all over Europe from the sixteenth to the early part of the nineteenth century, and in the midst of which were laid the foundations for novel activities and modes of thought and for European hegemony throughout the world. The second volume will be concerned with the latest and most crucial century of industrial society, which has witnessed the erection of almost fantastic superstructures on the foundations previously laid.

There is no short cut to an understanding of modern Europe, and the present work, planned mainly though not exclusively as an introductory survey for college students, is somewhat detailed and purposely long. The author is quite convinced that college students, like other mature and curious persons, should be induced to read more history, rather than less, that they should ponder on a substantial general work as well as browse freely over a wide range of monographic literature, — that is, if they are to know anything worth while about the past of their kind. The wise need not be told that man without man's past is meaningless.

G. J. H. H.

AFTON, NEW YORK.

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# CONTENTS OF VOLUMES 1 A. & 2

A Table of Contents covering Vols. 3 and 4 can be found in Vol. 3

## VOLUME 1

### PART I

#### THE FORMING OF MODERN EUROPE

	PAGE
<b>CHAPTER I. POLITICAL IDEAS AND INSTITUTIONS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY . . . . .</b>	<b>3</b>
1. Christendom and the Holy Roman Empire . . . . .	3
2. Islam and the Ottoman Empire . . . . .	9
3. The City States . . . . .	17
4. The New National Monarchies . . . . .	23
5. Rise of National Patriotism . . . . .	38
<b>CHAPTER II. ECONOMIC EXPANSION . . . . .</b>	<b>47</b>
1. European Agriculture at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century . . . . .	47
2. European Cities and Commerce at the Beginning of the Six- teenth Century . . . . .	55
3. The Overseas Explorations . . . . .	66
4. The New Colonial Empires . . . . .	76
5. Rise of Modern Capitalism . . . . .	82
<b>CHAPTER III. THE INTELLECTUAL QUICKENING . . . . .</b>	<b>96</b>
1. The Invention of Printing . . . . .	96
2. The Rediscovery of Classical Civilization . . . . .	99
3. Renaissance Art . . . . .	111
4. National Literatures . . . . .	119
5. Scientific Development . . . . .	122
<b>CHAPTER IV. THE RELIGIOUS UPHEAVAL . . . . .</b>	<b>136</b>
1. Christianity at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century . .	136
2. Rise of Protestant Churches . . . . .	152
(a) Lutheranism . . . . .	153
(b) Calvinism . . . . .	161
(c) Anglicanism . . . . .	169
(d) Radical Protestantism . . . . .	176
3. Reform of the Catholic Church . . . . .	183

4. The Three Great Divisions of Christendom at the Close of the Sixteenth Century . . . . .	190
5. Inter-Christian Intolerance and War . . . . .	197
6. Other Effects of the Religious Upheaval . . . . .	207

## PART II

## DYNASTIC AND ECONOMIC STATECRAFT

<b>CHAPTER V. THE PREDOMINANCE OF SPAIN</b> . . . . .	223
1. The Age of Charles V . . . . .	223
2. The Age of Philip II . . . . .	241
3. The Age of the Thirty Years' War . . . . .	260
<b>CHAPTER VI. THE PREDOMINANCE OF FRANCE</b> . . . . .	278
1. France under Henry IV, Richelieu, and Mazarin . . . . .	278
2. The Age of Louis XIV . . . . .	290
3. Seeming Bourbon Ascendancy . . . . .	304
<b>CHAPTER VII. THE AUSTRIAN HABSBURGS AND THE RISE OF PRUSSIA</b> . . . . .	320
1. The Holy Roman Empire in Decay . . . . .	320
2. The Dominions of the Austrian Habsburgs . . . . .	324
3. The Hohenzollerns and Prussia . . . . .	329
4. Minor German States . . . . .	335
5. The Contest between Hohenzollerns and Habsburgs . . . . .	338
6. Frederick the Great and the Age of "Enlightened" Despots . . . . .	346
<b>CHAPTER VIII. THE RISE OF RUSSIA</b> . . . . .	357
1. Russia and the Romanovs . . . . .	357
2. Sweden and the Career of Charles XII . . . . .	367
3. Catherine the Great: the Dismemberment of Poland and the Defeat of the Ottoman Empire . . . . .	372
<b>CHAPTER IX. THE RISE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE</b> . . . . .	384
1. Foundations of British Commerce, Colonies, and Capitalism . . . . .	384
2. Britain's Rivalry with France . . . . .	395
3. Britain's Triumph over France . . . . .	407
4. Britain's Acquisition of India and Australia . . . . .	413
<b>APPENDIX</b> . . . . .	423
<b>INDEX</b> . . . . .	435

## VOLUME 2

## PART III

REVOLUTIONARY DEVELOPMENTS OF  
THE MODERN WORLD

	PAGE
<b>CHAPTER X. THE BRITISH REVOLUTIONS . . . . .</b>	<b>425</b>
1. Reaction to Absolute Monarchy . . . . .	425
2. The Puritan Revolution and the Restoration . . . . .	438
3. The Aristocratic "Glorious" Revolution . . . . .	446
4. The Parliamentary Oligarchy and the Agricultural Revolution	453
5. The American Revolution . . . . .	469
<b>CHAPTER XI. THE INTELLECTUAL REVOLUTION . . . . .</b>	<b>496</b>
1. Progress of Natural Science . . . . .	497
2. The New Metaphysics: the "Enlightenment" . . . . .	506
3. Pietism and Deism . . . . .	512
4. Development of Social Science . . . . .	532
5. Fruits of Classicism and Seeds of Romanticism . . . . .	555
<b>CHAPTER XII. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION . . . . .</b>	<b>577</b>
1. Antecedent Conditions and Circumstances . . . . .	577
2. National and Democratic Self-Determination . . . . .	601
3. End of the Monarchy and Beginning of National War . . . . .	615
4. Jacobinism Triumphant . . . . .	627
5. Transformation of the Republic into a Military Dictatorship	640
<b>CHAPTER XIII. THE ERA OF NAPOLEON . . . . .</b>	<b>647</b>
1. Bonaparte's Heritage from the French Revolution . . . . .	647
2. The French Empire and Its Territorial Expansion . . . . .	657
3. Tightening of Foreign Opposition to Napoleon . . . . .	668
4. The Destruction of the French Territorial Empire . . . . .	682
5. The Spread of the Principles of the French Revolution . . . . .	696
<b>CHAPTER XIV. THE ERA OF METTERNICH . . . . .</b>	<b>718</b>
1. Metternich and Divided Europe . . . . .	718
2. The Congress of Vienna and the Concert of Europe . . . . .	722
3. Rise of Romanticism . . . . .	734
4. The Epidemic of Conflicts between Conservatives and Liberals	751
5. Liberal Successes in Southern Europe and America . . . . .	775
6. Conservative Successes in Central and Northern Europe . . . . .	790
7. The Transition from Agricultural to Industrial Society . . . . .	795
<b>APPENDIX . . . . .</b>	<b>801</b>
<b>INDEX . . . . .</b>	<b>813</b>

## MAPS

The maps needed for the study of this course appear in the accompanying Map Supplement. Familiarize yourself with the contents of this supplement and refer to it from time to time as the need for map reference arises. The chapter of the text with which each map will be found most useful is indicated in the list of maps in each volume.

### LIST OF MAPS FOR VOLUME 1

Europe, 1500 A.D. . . . .	<i>For use with</i>	Chap. I
Medieval Trade Routes and the Age of Discovery . . . . .	<i>For use with</i>	Chap. II
Religious Divisions in Europe, 1600 . . . . .	<i>For use with</i>	Chap. IV
Extension of French Frontiers, 1648-1697 . . . . .	<i>For use with</i>	Chap. VI
The Germanies, 1648 . . . . .	<i>For use with</i>	Chap. VII
Rise of Prussia to 1786 . . . . .	<i>For use with</i>	Chap. VII
Russian Expansion to 1796 . . . . .	<i>For use with</i>	Chap. VIII
Partition of Poland, 1772-1795 . . . . .	<i>For use with</i>	Chap. VIII

# PART I

## THE FORMING OF MODERN EUROPE

- I. POLITICAL IDEAS AND INSTITUTIONS AT THE BEGINNING  
OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY
- II. ECONOMIC EXPANSION
- III. THE INTELLECTUAL QUICKENING
- IV. THE RELIGIOUS UPHEAVAL



## CHAPTER I

### POLITICAL IDEAS AND INSTITUTIONS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

#### I. CHRISTENDOM AND THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE



Y the sixteenth century Europe possessed a remarkable unity. The mass of its inhabitants from the Mediterranean to the Arctic Ocean and from the Balkan peninsula and the Ural Mountains to the islands of Ireland and Iceland thought of themselves as members of a peculiar and "chosen" people, and as associates in a commonwealth. They were "chosen" because they were Christians, and they had a name for their commonwealth. They called it "Christendom."

Christendom

Christendom had originated fifteen hundred years earlier in the Asiatic provinces of the Roman Empire and for several centuries had been almost identical with that Empire, spreading over western Asia and northern Africa as well as southern Europe. But the rise and rapid extension of the Arab empire and the Moslem religion in the seventh century had served to deprive Christendom (and the Roman Empire) of its Asiatic and African provinces and to turn its expansive efforts northward in Europe, outside of the historic confines of the Roman Empire. Christendom was extended over the Franks in the sixth century, over the Anglo-Saxons in the seventh century, over the Germans in the eighth century, over the Czechoslovaks in the ninth century, over the Poles in the tenth century, over the Magyars, Scandinavians, Finns, and Russians in the eleventh century. For four hundred years prior to 1500, Christendom had been Europe, and Europe had been Christendom.

For many centuries the idea had been prevalent in Europe that Christendom was a political as well as a cultural unit, and that its government should ultimately be directed by two great coextensive institutions, independent of each other but working in close alliance and alike

Church  
and  
Empire

commanding the allegiance of all Christians. One of these institutions was the church, and the other was the empire. The church was the supreme spiritual power; the empire was the supreme temporal power. In theory at least, Europeans owed obedience to both.

Between empire and church, between the temporal power and the spiritual power, the separation which existed in 1500, and which had long existed previously, was a different kind of separation from what obtains between state and church in most so-called Christian countries nowadays. Nowadays the usual arrangement is for the state to claim and to exercise supreme political authority over all its citizens, and for the church to exert authority rather narrowly restricted to spiritual and moral affairs. This authority the church usually exerts over only such citizens as voluntarily recognize and accept it. In 1500, and in earlier times, however, both the state and the church exercised real authority, political as well as moral, over all Europeans. All Europeans were subject to the state, and therefore to temporal rulers. At the same time all Europeans were subject to the church, and therefore to ecclesiastical rulers. But while everyone recognized this general principle of divided authority, there had been chronic disputes as to its specific practice, some persons maintaining that it was the church, others asserting that it was the state, which in last resort should determine the boundary between the two authorities.

Whatever might be the assertions in behalf of the state, the church possessed for centuries prior to the year 1500 an effective organization, under the supreme direction of the bishop of Rome, the pope, which acted directly upon the vast majority of Europeans and exercised, in addition to its strictly religious and moral influence, a central political sway over most of Christendom. It owned extensive lands and estates that were practically independent of temporal rulers. It levied taxes upon all its members. It had its own laws and judicial system, and in its courts were tried not only cases which affected its own officers but certain kinds of cases, notably those concerning the marriage relations and the probating of wills, which affected everyone in Christendom. Besides, it controlled in various countries and regions of Europe the schools and universities, the hospitals and asylums. The church, with its army

The  
Christian  
Church

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of officials all over Europe and with its great moral influence and its wide political powers, was the dominant unifying force in Christendom.

However much political sway the pope and other ecclesiastical rulers might exercise, they never failed to extol the divine right and the practical need of supplementary temporal rule. The In their opinion, the state was almost if not quite as Imperial Idea essential as the church, and the ideal form of the state was an empire which should embrace all Europe. The idea of such an empire was most natural to Christians. It was part of their historical legacy. For it had been within an empire—the old Roman Empire—that Christianity had originated and had won its first successes, and for centuries, under the Christian Cæsars of that empire, the inhabitants of Egypt and Greece had joined with the citizens of Italy and Spain in dual allegiance to the emperor and to the pope. With the expansion of Christianity in later centuries, it seemed proper that the temporal rule of an emperor should accompany the spiritual rule of the pope. Christendom could and should be doubly unified by church and empire.

The imperial idea, however, had not been fully realized. The original Roman Empire had fallen prey to civil war and barbarian invasion: its Asiatic and African provinces were lost to Moslem conquerors; and its western and central European provinces became seats of quarrelsome Germanic kingdoms. As it shrank to the dimensions of a “kingdom” in the Balkan peninsula, it repudiated the papacy, thereby loosing its tie with the spiritual centre of Christendom, and it degenerated into a state essentially Greek, thereby impairing its right to be considered the temporal head of Christendom. Moreover, as Christianity spread into northern Europe, it proved increasingly difficult to establish or maintain a unified temporal empire. The newer converts to Christianity were used to tribal states rather than to an empire, and while they accepted the spiritual sway of the pope, it proved well-nigh impossible to subject them to the temporal rule of an emperor. About the year 800 Charlemagne, the king of the Franks, with the sanction of the pope, temporarily united what are now France, Germany, Italy, Holland, and Belgium into a state which he called the “Roman Empire” and of which he was crowned emperor. And nearly two centuries later, Otto the

## HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE

Great, a prince in Germany, again with the approval of the pope, gave other form to the same ambition and assumed the title of emperor of the "Roman Empire." This "holy" empire still endured in the year 1500.

In theory, the Holy Roman Empire claimed temporal supremacy over all Christian rulers and peoples of central and western Europe, and after the final extinction of the Greek Empire in 1453 it could claim that it was the sole secular heir to the ancient Roman tradition and the paramount temporal agency of all Christendom. But the vastness of the theoretical claim of the Holy Roman Empire was matched only by the insignificance of its actual acceptance.

For centuries before 1500 the basic social and political institution in western and central Europe had been feudalism, involving the exercise, on the part of a large number of landed nobles,—dukes, counts, barons, etc.,—of direct and almost independent political power over the people on their respective estates. Against this institution, various princes or "kings" gradually made some headway, reducing the feudal nobles to royal obedience. But the more unquestioned became the authority of the kings over the feudal nobles, the less inclined were the kings to yield any obedience to the Holy Roman Emperor. The Holy Roman Emperor had been too hard pressed by struggles with the church and with his immediate feudal vassals to prevent the rise of independent national kingdoms; and at the same time the vigorous rise of these kingdoms had contributed to the political weakness of the empire.

By the year 1500 the Holy Roman Empire was virtually restricted to German-speaking peoples. The papacy and the Italian cities had been freed from imperial control, and the Netherlands—that is, Holland and Belgium,—and likewise the Swiss cantons, were only nominally subject to it. England, France, Portugal, and Spain admitted no real dependence upon it, and it was inoperative over the Scandinavians to the north and over most of the Slavic peoples to the east—Poles, Russians, etc. By the year 1500 the words Empire and Germany had become almost interchangeable terms.

By the year 1500, moreover, the Holy Roman Empire was internally weak. It consisted of a hodgepodge of city states and feudal survivals—archduchies, such as Austria; margravates,

The Holy  
Roman  
Empire

such as Brandenburg; duchies, like Saxony, Bavaria, and Württemberg; counties, like the Palatinate; and a host of free cities, baronies, and domains, some of them smaller than an American township. In all there were over three hundred states which collectively were called "the Germanies" and which were united only by the slender imperial thread. The idea of empire had not only been narrowed to one nation; it also, in its failure to overcome feudalism, had prevented the growth of a real national monarchy.

What was the nature of this slight tie that nominally held the Germanies together? There was the form of a central government with an emperor to execute laws and a diet to make them. The emperor was not necessarily hereditary but was chosen by seven "electors," who were the chief princes of the realm. These seven were the archbishops of Mainz, of Cologne, and of Trier, the king of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, the margrave of Brandenburg, and the count palatine of the Rhine. Not infrequently the electors used their position to extort from the emperor-elect concessions which helped to destroy German unity and to promote the separate interests of the princes. The imperial diet was composed of the seven electors, the lesser princes (including the higher ecclesiastical dignitaries, such as bishops and abbots), and representatives of the free cities, grouped in three separate houses. The emperor was not supposed to perform any imperial act without the authorization of the diet, and petty jealousies between its members or houses often prevented action in the diet. The individual states, moreover, reserved to themselves the management of many affairs which in western Europe had been surrendered to the central national government. The diet, and therefore the emperor, was without a treasury or an army, unless the individual states saw fit to act favorably upon its advice and furnish the requested quotas. The diet resembled far more a congress of diplomats than a legislative body.

It will be readily perceived that under these circumstances the emperor as such could have little power. Yet the fear of impending Slavic or Turkish attacks upon the eastern frontier, or other fears, frequently operated to secure the election of some prince who had sufficient military might of his own to stay the attack or remove the fear. In this way, the custom developed

The Habsburgs in the later middle ages of choosing as Holy Roman Emperor the Habsburg archduke of Austria, the easternmost of the German states. And in the Habsburg family the headship continued until the final extinction of the empire in 1806. Several of these Habsburg emperors were influential, but it must always be remembered that they owed their power less to the empire than to their own hereditary states.

The great family fortunes of the Habsburgs had begun in the thirteenth century with Count Rudolph. He was elected to the headship of the Holy Roman Empire in 1273 and utilized this position to acquire the valuable archduchy of Austria, with its capital-city of Vienna, as an hereditary possession. Subsequently the family became related by marriage to reigning families in Hungary and in Italy, as well as in Bohemia and other states of the empire. In 1477 the Emperor Maximilian I. (1493-1519) married Mary of Burgundy, daughter of Charles the Bold and heiress of the wealthy provinces of the Netherlands; and in 1496 his son Philip was united to Joanna, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella and heiress of the crowns of Castile and Aragon. The fortunes of the Habsburgs were decidedly auspicious. By a process of dynastic accretion they were constructing a far flung hereditary empire which would assure them, as the Holy Roman Empire could not assure them, a commanding position in Europe.

Indeed, the *dynastic* empire of the Habsburgs (as distinct from the Holy Roman Empire) was a type of political idea and institution quite prevalent throughout Europe at the beginning of the sixteenth century. It was not only the imperial family of the Habsburgs at Vienna which sought an accretion of domains by marriage alliances and other dynastic devices. The royal families of Spain, France, England, and most other kingdoms, as well as the petty princes and barons of more diminutive states, were likewise vying with one another and with the emperor to arrange such marriages and such inheritances as would redound to the wealth and prestige of their respective dynasties. Germany was especially the prey of just such rival ambitions, and these in turn militated against the solidarity of the German people and the unity of the Holy Roman Empire.

Of course, signs were not wanting of some national life in Germany. Most of the people spoke a common language; a

form of national unity existed in the diet; and many patriots raised their voice in behalf of a stronger and more centralized government. In 1495 the diet met at the city of Worms to discuss with Emperor Maximilian projects of reform. After protracted debates, it was agreed that private warfare, an attendant of feudalism, should be abolished; a perpetual internal peace should be proclaimed; and an imperial court should be established to settle all disputes between states within the empire. These efforts at reform, like many before and after, were largely unfruitful, and, despite occasional protests, political disunion and weakness continued to prevail within the Holy Roman Empire.

Yet, so obsessed were men's minds with the old Roman tradition of empire that most Europeans continued to regard the Holy Roman Empire with awe. It was thought of as venerable and therefore as natural and eternal. It was deemed worth fighting about. Its titles were coveted, even by the national monarchs of England, France, Spain, and Hungary. It long continued to evoke an interest and a fascination curiously disproportionate to its actual strength.

## 2. ISLAM AND THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The awe which Europeans felt for the old Holy Roman Empire was matched in the year 1500 by the fear and dread which they entertained of the new Ottoman Empire. In this, they were justified. For, if the Holy Roman Empire was weaker in fact than in appearance, the Ottoman Empire displayed a real vigor commensurate with its pretensions and ambitions.

In a sense the Ottoman Empire was not "new." It represented, politically and geographically, a continuation of the imperial tradition of the Near East—of the Greek (Byzantine) Empire of the middle ages, of the Roman Empire of Justinian and Constantine, and of the much earlier empire of Alexander the Great. It was builded directly on the ruins of the Byzantine Empire; it embraced the same area and the same populations; and it took over, with changed names, the same institutions and practices.

What was "new" about the Ottoman Empire was the shift of southeastern Europe from Christian to Moslem control, the accompanying renewal of military energy in that quarter, and

the fair promise that a large part if not all of Europe might speedily be incorporated in a vast empire which in its government and culture would be based on Islam rather than on Christianity.

Islam was, of course, the religion of Mohammed, neatly summarized in the formula, "There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is his prophet." It had originated in Arabia in the seventh century; and within a hundred years, thanks to amazing proselyting zeal and astounding military conquest, it had largely supplanted Christianity in western Asia and northern Africa and had penetrated into southwestern Europe. Against southeastern Europe and Asia Minor, it had at that time beaten in vain. The Christian Roman Empire of the Byzantine Greeks had then been too strong for it. Thereafter, the huge Arab Empire had broken up into mutually warring fragments and the expansive force of Islam had seemingly been exhausted. During the middle ages Christians of western Europe as well as those of the Byzantine Empire took the offensive against the Moslems, and for a time it appeared as though the whole Near East might be wrested from Islam and restored to Christendom.

The crusades eventually failed, however. Indeed, they proved to be, from the Christian standpoint, worse than a failure. They aroused and revivified the forces of Islam, while sowing new seeds of discord between Christians of the West and those of the Byzantine Empire. They evoked a second great wave of Moslem conquest, that of the Ottoman Turks, which expanded Islam and contracted Christendom.

The Turks were a tribal people whose original home was in the steppes and deserts of the Turkestan of central Asia and who had emigrated thence, during the middle ages, both as nomads and as permanent settlers, to Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, and particularly to Asia Minor. They had adopted the Moslem religion of the populations among whom they roved or settled. One of the Turkish tribes which penetrated into Asia Minor had a chieftain about the year 1300 whose name was Othman or Osman and who assumed the title of emir (prince) of the Turks. The Turks who were subject to Othman and his successors were henceforth called the Ottoman Turks.

Othman and his immediate successors were valiant warriors

and gifted statesmen. They annexed other Turkish states and incorporated other Turkish tribes, and slowly but surely they built up a powerful military state. It was this rising, growing state of the Ottoman Turks which was destined to become the outstanding champion of Islam and to renew with Christendom the struggle for mastery of the Near East and perhaps of all Europe.

In the first half of the fourteenth century, the Ottoman Turks devoted their energies to the conquest of Asia Minor. They extended their sway over all the Moslem peoples in the region, and to the east they reduced the Christian Armenians. Simultaneously, to the west, they pushed the boundary of the Byzantine Empire farther and farther back, capturing one Greek city after another—Ephesus, Brusa, Nicæa, and Nicomedia. By the middle of the century they had undone the work of the crusaders and had wrested all Asia Minor from the Greeks. They made Brusa the capital of their empire, and the Ottoman emir took the title of sultan.

As the territory of the Moslem Empire grew, that of the Christian Byzantine Empire diminished. This empire—the uninterrupted continuation of the ancient Roman Empire—was now steadily declining and deteriorating. Asia Minor was finally surrendered to the Turks. Crete, the Ægean islands, and most of the Greek peninsula were occupied by the Venetians. A large part of the Balkan peninsula was in possession of Slavic peoples—Yugoslavs and Bulgarians—who maintained independent states of their own and disputed with the Greeks the control of southeastern Europe.

The Graeco-Roman (Byzantine) emperors in Constantinople thus found themselves, by the middle of the fourteenth century, hemmed in on all sides. Their empire was actually restricted to the capital, to a part of Thrace, and to a narrow strip of sea-coast along the Ægean. They were confronted with foreign foes—Turks, Slavs, and Italians. They were beset with grave domestic problems: they were short of soldiers and money; they were weakened by recurring revolutions and quarrels over the imperial succession.

In the second half of the fourteenth century the Ottoman Turks transferred their military activities and successes from

Decline  
and Fall  
of the  
Byzantine  
Empire

Asia Minor to southeastern Europe. They crossed the straits in force in 1360, and in the following year they captured Adrianople and made it their capital. In 1387 they conquered Salonica. Two years later, on the fateful field of Kossovo, they overwhelmed the Yugoslavs. In 1393 they decisively defeated the Bulgarians. In the meantime they were seizing islands in the Ægean and fighting the Venetians in the Greek peninsula. At the end of the century the Ottoman Turks dominated the entire Balkan peninsula except Constantinople and a few other posts still held by Greeks or Italians.

In desperation the Byzantine emperors begged aid of western Europe, and in alarm the popes preached new crusades and besought all Christians to go to the assistance of the Greeks. Some Christian princes did lead armies against the Turks; the kings of Poland and Hungary repeatedly tried to stem the tide of Moslem conquest; and the Venetians, with their commercial interests in the Near East clearly at stake, turned 'crusaders' and fought manfully against the Turks. It was in vain. The Turks still advanced.

In 1453, after elaborate preparations, Mohammed II, the ablest and greatest of the Ottoman sultans, with an army of Turkish Capture of Constantinople 150,000 men, laid siege to Constantinople. The city was defended by a pitifully small Christian army, numbering not more than 8,000, of whom half were Greek (including monks and priests) and the other half comprised detachments sent by the pope and by the city states of Venice and Genoa "for the glory of God and the safety of Christendom." What the Christians lacked in numbers they made up in grim determination and reckless bravery, and for almost two months the little garrison held the Moslem host at bay. It was only when they were still further reduced by deaths and wounds and utterly exhausted, that the Christians gave way and the Turks poured in, and even then the gallant band of Greeks and Italians fought on until they were all killed. In their midst, fighting to the very end, perished Constantine XI, the last of the lineal caesars and Graeco-Roman emperors.

The transfer of Constantinople from the rule of the Emperor Constantine XI to that of the Sultan Mohammed II was a sensational step in the revolution which was transforming the traditional empire of the Near East from Greek and Christian

hands to hands that were Moslem and Turk. The events at Constantinople in 1453 depressed all Christendom, as they elated the Turks and all Islam. For Constantinople was viewed by both Christians and Moslems as one of the greatest and strongest cities in the whole world, embodying most perfectly the traditions of ancient Roman rule and antique Greek culture. It was *the* city. Its possession carried prestige. As Christians had held it from the time of the first Constantine in the fourth century to the days of the last Constantine in the fifteenth century, so the Moslems were determined to possess it ever after. Besides, it was naturally an imperial city, comparatively easy to defend and specially accustomed to undertake distant conquest and to exercise wide dominion. As it had been for more than a thousand years the centre of a Christian empire of the Near East, so it would be in modern times the capital of a Moslem empire of the Near East.

Indeed, Mohammed II (1451–1481) succeeded in doing what the preceding Byzantine emperors had failed to do. He not only ruled in Constantinople but he brought together within his empire many territories which had been lost to the Byzantine Empire. He reunited the whole of Asia Minor and the entire Balkan peninsula. He did more: he conquered the Rumanian lands at the mouth of the Danube and the Russian and Mongol lands north of the Black Sea.

Sultan  
Mohammed II

For almost a century after the death of Mohammed II—from 1481 to 1571—the Ottoman Empire grew rapidly and flourished mightily. In large part it grew at the expense of other Moslem states. The sultans, as the champions of Moslem (Sunni) orthodoxy, waged war against the Persians as the exponents of the principal Moslem (Shiite) heresy, and wrested from the shahs of Persia the city of Bagdad and the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates. One of the sultans—Selim I (1512–1520)—conquered Syria and Egypt, and obtained from the chief claimant to the old Arab Empire, then resident in Egypt, the title of caliph, that is, head of all orthodox Moslems. Thenceforth the sultans of the Ottoman Turks claimed to be successors both of the Roman emperors and of the Moslem caliphs. The sultans likewise gained recognition of Ottoman supremacy in the holy cities of Jerusalem, Mecca, and Medina, and in other Arab towns. Also, by means of growing maritime power, the

sultans acquired suzerainty over all the north African coast from Egypt to Morocco, including Tripoli, Tunis, and Algeria.

Under the Sultan Suleiman II (1520-1566), who was appropriately termed "the Magnificent," the Ottoman Empire comprised virtually the same territory as had constituted the East Roman Empire in the time of Justinian. But Suleiman the Magnificent would not stop here. Eager to expand his dominions in Europe, as they were already extended in Asia and Africa, he, with the main force of the Moslem world behind him, turned anew against Christendom.

In 1521 Suleiman captured Belgrade and crossed the Danube. In 1526 he defeated the king of Hungary and destroyed the flower of Hungarian chivalry in the terrible battle of Mohács, and occupied Budapest. Pushing on against Austria, which had sought to aid Hungary, he laid siege to Vienna in 1529. Though he could not take Vienna, he compelled the Holy Roman Emperor to agree to a partition of Hungary, the smaller portion going to Austria and the larger portion passing to the Ottoman Empire and becoming a Turkish province. Thereafter the Holy Roman Emperor, and the king of Poland too, made repeated and protracted attempts to drive the Turks out of Hungary and Rumania, but almost invariably they met defeat at the hands of Suleiman. As the Byzantine Empire had fallen prey to the Moslem Turks in the fifteenth century, so in the sixteenth century the weakened and distracted Holy Roman Empire appeared to be Christendom's last poor bulwark against the onrushing triumphant Moslems.

In the meantime Suleiman subdued the Caucasus and made the Black Sea a lake within the Ottoman Empire. Simultaneously his warships and pirate-ships wrought havoc in the Mediterranean; they successfully combated Venice and Genoa and terrorized the seafaring merchants from Christian countries. Christendom, in the first half of the sixteenth century, seemed to be peculiarly exposed to Moslem assault on land and on sea, at the very time when Christendom was faced internally with political rivalries of unprecedented rancor and with fundamental religious disunion. Yet so great was the external threat that rival Christian monarchs and mutually vituperative Christian clergymen could agree with pope and Holy Roman Emperor in cursing the Turk—"the infidel."

The Ottoman Empire of the sixteenth century was similar to the earlier East Roman (Byzantine) Empire not only in territorial extent but also in political institutions. It was not a national state, any more than the old Roman Empire had been a national state. It was a military political union, under Turkish leadership, of many diverse peoples. Only in Asia Minor did the Turks constitute a large proportion of the total population, and even there sizable minorities of Armenians, Kurds, and Greeks persisted. In Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine, and across northern Africa, the Turks were a mere sprinkling among the mass of Arabs, Jews, Egyptians (Copts), Berbers, and Moors. In southeastern Europe the conquered nationalities remained—Greeks, Yugoslavs (Serbs), Bulgarians, Albanians, Rumanians, and Hungarians (Magyars)—and some of them, notably the Greeks, continued to furnish the Near East with its leading merchants and traders. Most of the conquered Christians, however, were reduced to a condition of serfdom and were obliged to support the Moslem Turks who came to live among them as soldiers and officials and formed a privileged upper class.

The Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth Century

The government of the Ottoman Empire was an autocracy, not unlike that of the Byzantine Empire which it supplanted. The sultan was “commander of the faithful” and master of the conquered peoples. In theory, his word was supreme; he made and enforced the laws; he appointed the local governors and army officers; he declared war and concluded peace. In practice, the sultan was often influenced or controlled by his harem, army, or officials; and local agents and tax-gatherers were frequently harsher and more despotic than the sultan.

The Ottoman Empire was a Moslem empire, as the Byzantine Empire had been a Christian empire. Only Moslems could be full-fledged “citizens”; Christians and Jews were “subjects.” For “citizens,” there was the closest union of church and state; the sultan was head alike of temporal and spiritual affairs; and civil law as well as religious faith and teaching was derived from Mohammed and the Koran. Moreover, the sultans supported the public worship of Islam. They transformed the venerable and historic Christian cathedral of Saint Sophia in Constantinople—one of the architectural wonders of the world—into a Moslem edifice, and wherever their

Moslems and Christians

armies marched they appropriated the principal Christian churches and converted them into mosques. The sultans set aside a share of the spoils taken from Christians for the financial support of Moslem institutions. They taxed Christians far more heavily than Moslems and excluded the former from most public offices. They did not allow Christians to bear arms or serve in the Ottoman army, but every year they conscripted a certain number of Christian boys, reared them as Moslems, and trained them as a special army—the so-called army of the Janizaries—which proved to be a peculiarly effective auxiliary to the main Turkish army.

Some Christians, especially among the Albanians, became Moslems, but the Armenians and the mass of the conquered peoples in southeastern Europe clung to Christianity. As a matter of fact, the Turks were not supremely intolerant; they did not force conversion to Islam. Indeed, as soon as the Sultan Mohammed II had captured Constantinople, he issued a famous edict of toleration, not only according religious freedom to the Greek Christians but constituting them a special "nation" (or "millet") under their own patriarch and with their own laws and law-courts. Other sultans created similar "millets" for the Armenian Christians, the Catholic Christians, and the Jews. In this way, the sultan was enabled to hold the patriarchs and other heads of "millets" personally responsible for the good behavior of the subject Christians. At the same time the privileges accorded to the several "millets" kept alive the spirit of nationality among the conquered peoples and served to emphasize the confused and heterogeneous character of the Ottoman Empire.

Besides, beginning with the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent, the sultans entered into treaties with Christian states, granting to their citizens permission of pilgrimage to the Holy Land, privileges of trade in the Near East, and the right to live under their own laws and to maintain their own law-courts while they were residing in the Ottoman Empire. The first of such treaties—or "capitulations," as they were called—was concluded in 1535

with the king of France. The "capitulations" added to the confusion within the Ottoman Empire, but they were a sign that Christian Europe, unable to dislodge Islam, must make terms with it and recognize it as a growing power in the midst of Christendom.

### 3. THE CITY STATES

Before the dawn of the Christian era, the Greeks and Phoenicians and early Romans had entertained a general idea of political organization which was quite at variance with any idea of extended empire, such as we have observed in the case of the Holy Roman Empire or the Ottoman Empire of the sixteenth century. It was a general idea, moreover, which would seem very strange to most of us at the present time, accustomed as we are to the idea of a fairly large national state. Those ancient peoples believed that every city with its adjacent countryside should constitute an independent state, with its own particular lawmaking and governing bodies and with distinctive army and coinage. This belief retained a tenacious hold on European minds, despite the rise of Greek and Roman empires; it was employed as a more or less reasoned justification of separatist tendencies in medieval feudal Europe; and it naturally survived as long as there were great obstacles to extensive large-scale travel and trade and to the development of acute national consciousness. It survived well into modern times.

The City-State Idea

Now it so happened, as we shall see in the following chapter, that the commerce of the middle ages rendered especially important certain towns in Italy, in Germany, and in the Netherlands. These towns, in one way or another, managed to secure a large measure of self-government, so that by the year 1500 they had become strikingly similar to the city states of antiquity. In Germany, though they still maintained their local self-government, they were loosely attached to the Holy Roman Empire and were overshadowed in political significance by other states. In the case of Italy and in that of the Netherlands, however, they played leading rôles in the politics of the sixteenth century.

**Italy in the Sixteenth Century**

In the Italy of the year 1500 there was only an intangible tie with the Holy Roman Empire and there was not even the semblance of national political unity. Despite the ardent longings of a few Italian patriots,<sup>1</sup> and the development of a common language, which, under such masters as Dante and Petrarch, became a medium for great literary expression, the people of the peninsula had not built up a national monarchy like those of western Europe nor had they even preserved the form of allegiance to the Holy Roman Empire. This was due to several significant events of earlier times. In the first place, the attempt of the medieval German emperors to gain control of Italy not only had signally failed but had left behind two contending factions throughout the whole country,—one, the Ghibellines, supporting the doctrine of maintaining the traditional connection with Germany; the other, the Guelphs, rejecting that doctrine. In the second place, the pope, who exercised extensive political as well as religious power, felt that his ecclesiastical influence would be seriously impaired by the creation of political unity in the country. A strong lay monarch with a solid Italy behind him might in time reduce the sovereign pontiff to a subservient position and diminish the prestige which the head of the church enjoyed in foreign lands. The popes, therefore, participated actively in the game of Italian politics, always endeavoring to prevent any one state from becoming too powerful. Thirdly, the comparatively early commercial prominence of the Italian towns had stimulated trade rivalries which tended to make each town proud of its independence and wealth; and as the cities grew and prospered to an unwonted degree, it became increasingly difficult to join them together. Finally, the riches of Italy, and the local jealousies and strife, to say nothing of the papal policy, marked the country as natural prey for foreign interference and conquest; and the peninsula became a battleground for Spaniards, Frenchmen, and Germans.

<sup>1</sup> Of such patriots was Machiavelli (see below, p. 27). Machiavelli wrote in *The Prince*: "Our country, left almost without life, still waits to know who it is that will heal her bruises, put an end to the devastation and plunder of Lombardy and to the exactions and imposts of Naples and Tuscany, and stanch those wounds of hers which long neglect has changed into running sores. We see how she prays God to send some one to rescue her from these barbarous cruelties and oppressions. We see too how ready and eager she is to follow any standard, were there only some person to raise it."

Before reviewing the chief city states of northern Italy, it will be well to say a word about two other political divisions of the country. The southern third of the peninsula comprised the kingdom of Naples, which had grown up about the city of that name, and which, together with the large island of Sicily, was later called the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. This state, having been first formed by Scandinavian adventurers in the eleventh century, had successively passed under papal suzerainty, under the domination of the German emperors, and at length in 1266 under French control. A revolt in Sicily in the year 1282, commonly called the Sicilian Vespers, had severed the relation between the island and the mainland, the former passing to the royal family of Aragon, and the latter troubulously remaining in French hands until 1442. The reunion of the Two Sicilies at this date under the crown of Aragon served to keep alive the quarrel between the French and the Spaniards; and it was not until 1504 that the king of France definitely renounced his Neapolitan claims in favor of Ferdinand of Aragon.

About the city of Rome had grown up in the course of centuries the papal states, or as they were officially styled, the "Patrimony of St. Peter." It had early fallen to the lot of the bishop, as the most important person in the city, to exercise political power over Rome, when barbarian invasions no longer permitted the exercise of authority by Roman emperors; and control over neighboring districts, as well as over the city, had been expressly recognized and conferred upon the bishop by Charlemagne in the eighth century. This bishop of Rome was, of course, the pope; and the pope slowly extended his territories through central Italy from the Tiber to the Adriatic, long using them merely as a bulwark to his religious and ecclesiastical prerogatives. By the year 1500, however, the popes were prone to regard themselves as Italian princes who might normally employ their states as so many pawns in the game of peninsular politics. The Italian policy of the notorious Alexander VI (1492-1503) centred in his desire to establish his son, Caesar Borgia, as an Italian ruler; and Julius II (1503-1513) was famed more for statecraft and military prowess than for religious fervor.

North and west of the papal states were the various city

Naples  
and Sicily

The Papal  
States

states which were so thoroughly distinctive of Italian politics at the opening of the sixteenth century. Although these towns had probably reached a higher plane both of material prosperity and of intellectual culture than was to be found at that time in any other part of Europe, nevertheless they were deeply jealous of each other and carried on an interminable series of petty wars, the brunt of which was borne by professional hired soldiers and freebooters styled "condottieri." Among the Italian city states, the most famous in the year 1500 were Milan, Venice, Genoa, and Florence.

Of these cities, Milan was still in theory a ducal fief of the Holy Roman Empire, but had long been in fact the prize of despotic rulers who were descended from two famous **Milan** families—the Visconti and the Sforza—and who combined a liberal patronage of art with the fine political subtleties of Italian tyrants. The Visconti ruled Milan from the thirteenth century to the middle of the fifteenth, when a Sforza, the son of a condottiere, established the supremacy of his own family. In 1499, however, King Louis XII of France, claiming the duchy as heir to the Visconti, seized Milan and held it until he was expelled in 1512 by the Holy League, composed of the pope, Venice, Spain, and England. A Sforza was temporarily reinstated.

As Milan was the type of Italian city ruled by a despot or tyrant, so Venice was a type of the commercial, oligarchical **Venice** city states. Venice was by far the most powerful state in the peninsula. Located on the islands and lagoons at the head of the Adriatic, she had profited greatly by the crusades to build up a maritime empire and an enviable trade in the eastern Mediterranean and had extended her sway over rich lands in the northeastern part of Italy. In the year 1500, Venice boasted 3,000 ships, 300,000 sailors, a numerous and veteran army, famous factories of plate glass, silk stuffs, and gold and silver objects, and a singularly strong government. Nominally Venice was a republic, but actually an oligarchy. Political power was entrusted jointly to several agencies: (1) a grand council controlled by the commercial magnates; (2) a centralized committee of ten; (3) an elected duke, or "doge"; and (4), after 1454, three state inquisitors, henceforth the city's real masters. The inquisitors might pronounce sentence of death, dispose of the public funds, and enact statutes; they maintained

a regular spy system; and trial, judgment, and execution were secret. The mouth of the lion of St. Mark received anonymous denunciations, and the waves which passed under the Bridge of Sighs carried away the corpses.

To this régime Venice owed an internal peace which contrasted with the endless civil wars of the other Italian cities. Till the final destruction of the state in 1797 Venice knew no political revolution. In foreign affairs, also, Venice possessed considerable influence; she was the first European state to send regular envoys, or ambassadors, to other courts. It seemed in 1500 as if she was particularly wealthy and great, but already had been sown the seed of subsequent decline and humiliation. The advance of the Ottoman Turks threatened her position in eastern Europe. The discovery of America and of a new route to India was threatening the very basis of her commercial supremacy. And her unscrupulous policy toward her Italian rivals lost her friends to the west. So great was the enmity against Venice that the formidable League of Cambrai, entered into by the emperor, the pope, France, and Spain in 1508, wrung many concessions from her.

Second only to Venice in commercial importance, Genoa, in marked contrast with her rival, passed through all manner of political vicissitudes until in 1499 she fell prey to the Genoa invasion of King Louis XII of France. Thereafter Genoa remained some years subject to the French, but in 1528 the resolution of an able citizen, Andrea Doria, freed the state from foreign invaders and restored to Genoa her republican institutions.

The famed city state of Florence may be taken as the best type of the democratic community, controlled by a political leader. The city, as celebrated for its free institutions Florence as for its art, had come, in the first half of the fifteenth century, under the tutelage of a family of traders and bankers, the wealthy Medici, who preserved the republican forms, and for a while, under Lorenzo de' Medici (1449-1492), "the Magnificent," made Florence the leading centre of Italian culture. Soon after the death of Lorenzo, a democratic reaction took place under an enthusiastic and puritanical monk, Savonarola, who welcomed the advent of the French king, Charles VIII, in 1494, and aided materially in the expulsion of the Medici.

Savonarola soon fell a victim to the plots of his Florentine enemies and to the vengeance of the pope, whom Charles VIII had offended, and was put to death in 1498. The democracy managed to survive until 1512 when the Medici returned. The city state of Florence subsequently became the grand-duchy of Tuscany.

Before we take leave of the Italian states of the year 1500, mention should be made of the insignificant duchy of Savoy. Savoy, tucked away in the fastnesses of the north-western Alps, whose duke, after varying fortunes, was to become, in the nineteenth century, king of a united Italy.

The city state was the dominant form of political organization not only in Italy but also in the Netherlands.<sup>1</sup> The Netherlands,

**The Netherlands** or the Low Countries, were seventeen provinces occupying the flat lowlands along the North Sea,—the

Holland, Belgium, and northern France of our own

day. Most of the inhabitants were Flemings or Dutch, who spoke "Netherlandish," a language akin to German; but many of them in the south—the so-called Walloons—spoke French. At first the provinces had been mere feudal states at the mercy of various warring noblemen, but gradually in the course of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, important towns had arisen so wealthy and populous that they were able to wrest charters from the lords. Thus arose a number of municipalities which were still in theory vassals of feudal nobles but which in fact were self-governing republics, and in many instances the early oligarchic systems of municipal government speedily gave way to more democratic institutions. Remarkable in industry and prosperity were Ghent, Bruges, Antwerp, Brussels, Liège, Utrecht, Delft, Rotterdam, and many another.

Beginning in 1384 and continuing throughout the fifteenth century, the dukes of Burgundy, who as vassals of the French king had long held the duchy and county of that name in eastern France, succeeded by marriage, purchase, intrigue, or force in bringing one by one the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands under their rule. This extension of dominion on the part of the dukes of Burgundy implied the establishment of a strong monarchical authority, which was supported by the nobility and

<sup>1</sup> It was also important in Germany (within the Holy Roman Empire). On the German city states—the so-called Hanseatic towns—see above, p. 7, and below, pp. 64–65.

clergy and opposed by the cities. In 1465 a common parliament, called the "states general," was constituted at Brussels, containing deputies from each of the seventeen provinces; and eight years later a grand council was organized with supreme judicial and financial functions. Charles the Bold, who died in 1477, was prevented from constructing a great central kingdom between France and Germany only by the shrewdness of his implacable foe, King Louis XI of France. On the death of Charles the Bold, Louis seized the duchy of Burgundy, thereby extending the eastern frontier of France, but the duke's inheritance in the Netherlands and in the county of Burgundy (*Franche Comté*) passed to his daughter Mary. In 1477 Mary's marriage with Maximilian of Austria began the long domination of the Netherlands by the house of Habsburg.

Throughout these political changes, the towns of the Netherlands maintained many of their former privileges, and their prosperity steadily increased. The country became the richest in Europe, and the splendor of the ducal court surpassed that of any contemporary sovereign. A permanent memorial of it remains in the celebrated Order of the Golden Fleece, which was instituted by the duke of Burgundy in the fifteenth century and was so named from English wool, the raw material used in the Flemish looms and the very foundation of the country's prosperity.

#### 4. THE NEW NATIONAL MONARCHIES

A new kind of political state was coming into prominence at the beginning of the sixteenth century. It was different from an extensive empire, such as the Ottoman Empire, and also from a restricted city state, such as Venice or Genoa. It was a kind of state which had hardly existed in ancient times and which had evolved only slowly and dimly during the middle ages. It was the medium sized "national" state, the political entity which was to become the unit of the modern state-system of Europe.

If we look at the political map of Europe of the year 1500, we quickly perceive, in contrast with the sprawling territories strangely labelled "Ottoman Empire" and "Holy Roman Empire" and the unfamiliar petty divisions of central Europe indicative of a hodgepodge of feudal principalities and city states,

a certain number of areas which correspond in name and roughly in extent to states of the twentieth century with which we are acquainted—England, France, Portugal, Spain, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Hungary, Poland, Lithuania. These are the new national monarchies of the year 1500. They are independent of empires and yet they represent unifications of feudal localities—baronies and municipalities—under the direction and sway of a monarch. Each of them possesses a population the core of which is a single nationality, with distinctive language, literature, and some self-consciousness. They are *national* monarchies.

Just how these national monarchies had originated in the tribal states which succeeded the dissolution of the old Roman Empire and accompanied the expansion of Christendom and just how they had kept free of the Holy Roman Empire and had slowly overcome the disruptive tendencies of feudalism, is a theme for the student of medieval Europe and lies outside of the purview of modern history. Suffice it here to remark that by the year 1500 these national states had taken firm root and were undergoing a very marked and significant alteration in their government in the direction of monarchical absolutism.

The government of a twentieth-century national state is more actively and physically powerful than was the government of a sixteenth-century national state. For example, it can tax its citizens almost without limit and with slight fear of revolt, and it can compel them to endure in person the horrors of war, neither of which things a government of the sixteenth century could have done. But the government of a twentieth-century national state is not worshipped simply as government: no one has any feeling of awful sanctity about it; on the contrary, government as such is not uncommonly regarded as a little ridiculous. What men worship is the nation or the nationality, not its political governors.

In the year 1500 it was not yet the nation but the monarch—  
**The National Monarchs** the prince—that was worshipped. Treason to the prince was deemed the most heinous crime, the crime which could excuse any punishment. The prince was becoming a sort of god.

Several factors in European history just prior to the sixteenth century had undoubtedly combined to arrest the development of medieval constitutional government, medieval magna cartas,

and medieval parliaments, and to give rise to monarchical absolutism. The crusades had had something to do with it. They brought Christian rulers of the West into contact with Moslem and Byzantine rule in the East; and from the East, the ancient traditional seat of absolutism, the West derived oriental notions about the scope and method of government. Then, too, the crusades stimulated trade and travel and thereby contributed to the growth, in numbers, wealth, and influence, of a middle class, which looked to strong monarchs for protection of travel and trade against fighting nobles. Moreover, the crusades diverted the attention and activity of numerous feudal lords and ambitious churchmen from the internal politics of European states to foreign affairs and distant enterprises, with the result that monarchs were less handicapped than formerly by feudalism and by the church.

The feudal nobles who during the middle ages had been leaders in limiting monarchy and establishing constitutional government on the basis of contract between prince and people, now lost much of their earlier influence and leadership. Some of them were killed during the crusades. Others emigrated to the Near East. Some settled in cities, engaged in commerce, and came to share the townsmen's desire for strong and stable government. Still others were forcefully subjected to the king and made into servants and supporters of royal monarchy. By the sixteenth century, feudalism was decaying, and soon the feudal lords would be in no position to oppose royal absolutism.

The church had likewise been a foe of royal absolutism during the middle ages, but its energetic opposition was now changing to toleration and resignation and even aid. The church, while a foe to royal absolutism, had been no friend to the anarchy and disorder which feudal society at its height imposed upon Europe, and accordingly the church, in conjunction with the middle class, patronized early royal attempts to check private warfare and dominate feudalism. Thereby the church contributed to the growth of royal power. When the royal power turned against the church and sought to enhance itself at the expense of pope, bishops, and monks, the churchmen found themselves so weakened by the crusades, by previous political struggles, by internal abuses, and by popular criticism and dissent, that they felt it natural or expedient to acquiesce in much that the kings did.

and eventually many churchmen became convinced supporters of royal despotism.

The growth of the middle class and its alliance with royalty were perhaps the most significant features of the period of transition from the middle ages to modern times. This class comprised a rapidly increasing number of men of wealth and brains. The kings catered to it, and it served—and worshipped—the kings. The middle class furnished the kings with lawyers and most useful officials, with more and more money for the mounting expenses of central government, and with reliable men for national armies; and in return the kings bestowed commercial monopolies and other financial favors upon the middle class. Gradually, under middle-class influence, the institution of monarchy in the national states was transformed. The monarch, instead of being a titular suzerain of feudal landed lords, became the real head of a big national business in which the middle class was an important stockholder.

The importance of the middle class was augmented in national states in the sixteenth century, as we shall see in the following chapter, by the startling economic expansion of Europe, in the fostering of which it was kings, rather than emperors or city states, who took the lead. Simultaneously, the consciousness of nationality was stimulated, as we shall presently point out in greater detail, especially among the middle class and to the profit of the monarchs of national states. These monarchs, enriched by overseas plundering and exploitation on the part of their faithful subjects and regarded as the embodiments of national achievement and ambition, were about to eclipse in majesty and might not only feudal nobles and city states but the empire and the papacy.

To the same end contributed a change in the methods of warfare, a change which was brought about mainly in the fifteenth century. Hitherto, during the middle ages, royal armies had been composed chiefly of feudal vassals and retainers, and they had fought with spears, pikes, swords, bows and arrows. Now, with the introduction of gunpowder and firearms, a prince could maintain a standing army of hired soldiers and equip it with

cannon and hand-guns; and a national monarch, with larger and surer revenue, could surpass city states and Holy Roman Empire in the size and effectiveness of his military establishment. He could use it, moreover, to subdue rebellious feudal lords and to quell popular uprisings in his own realm, as well as to wage war against other princes and foreign powers. In a word, he now possessed a novel instrument of monarchical absolutism.

Predisposing men's minds to the idea of monarchical absolutism and to the veritable worship of the prince was the revived study of the old Roman law. According to a basic maxim of the ancient Roman law, as finally compiled by the Byzantine Emperor Justinian in the sixth century, the prince or ruler of a state not only had authority to make laws but also to break them or to change them at will. This doctrine—that the prince can do no wrong, that the will of the prince is law—was absolutely contrary to the mediæval theory that the ruler is bound by feudal contract and must respect the fundamental law (or "constitution") of the land. The kings of the later middle ages, disliking the mediæval theory, promoted the revival of Roman law; they encouraged its teaching and study; and the large lawyer-class that by the sixteenth century were trained in it naturally invoked it in behalf of the claims of the kings who employed them.

The cause of national monarchy and the conviction that national monarchs are absolutist, that they are superior to constitutions and parliaments, received classical and cogent expression in the sixteenth century in the political writings of Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527), an Italian scholar and statesman of the city state of Florence. In his most celebrated book, *The Prince* (1513), Machiavelli argued that national monarchy is preferable to any other form of government, that the power of a national monarch should be absolute and unhampered by religious or moral considerations, and that a prince, in order to promote the interests of his nation or to safeguard his own position, may properly employ deception or bribery or assassination. Despite protests of the pope and condemnation by the church, Machiavelli's *The Prince* was widely read and its counsels were acted upon by many ambitious rulers of the sixteenth century.

All the factors which have just been described coöperated to produce in sixteenth-century Europe a group of powerful national states, which were politically independent of the Holy Roman Empire and of each other, and which, under ambitious and frequently unscrupulous monarchs, were uprooting feudalism, undermining the church, and paving the way for a modern political régime quite different from that of previous centuries. They foreshadowed the rise of modern nationalism and at the same time they heralded the advent of divine-right absolutist monarchy.

By the year 1500 two national monarchies had emerged on the British Isles. The more important was England, which had been a kingdom since the ninth century, but **England** which during the middle ages had been not so much a national state as part of a dynastic dominion. Its kings had been Norman French in origin and sympathy and very ambitious to extend their sway both in France and in the British Isles. They had conquered a part of Ireland (the so-called Pale of Dublin) in the twelfth century and had subdued the principality of Wales in the thirteenth century. They had attempted repeatedly but in vain to subjugate the kingdom of Scotland. For several centuries, too, they had sought, with considerable success, to dominate a large part, if not all, of France.

The Hundred Years' War (1337-1453), beginning as a dynastic and feudal struggle between the royal families of England and France, had a significantly national outcome. The English sovereign was compelled to surrender the bulk of his domains on the Continent and to confine his ambitions to Britain. At this very time, moreover, the sense of English nationality and English patriotism was exalted; the English language acquired definite literary form, and peculiar national institutions took hardy root in England. For several years after the conclusion of the Hundred Years' War, England was harassed by bloody and confused struggles, known as the Wars of the Roses, between rival claimants to the throne, but at length, in 1485, Henry VII, the first of the Tudor dynasty, secured the crown and ushered in a new era of English history.

Henry VII (1485-1509) sought to create what has been termed a "strong monarchy." During the middle ages the power of the king had been restricted by a parliament, composed of a House

of Lords and a House of Commons, and as the former was then far more influential than the latter, supreme political control had rested practically with the king and the members of the upper house—great land-holding nobles and leading churchmen. The Wars of the Roses had two effects which redounded to the advantage of the king. First, the struggle, being really a contest of two factions of nobles, destroyed many noble families and enabled the crown to seize their estates, thereby lessening the influence of an ancient class. Second, the struggle, being long and disorderly, created in the middle class or “common people” a longing for peace and a conviction that order and security could be maintained only by repression of the nobility and the strengthening of monarchy. Henry took advantage of these circumstances to fix upon his country an absolutism which was to endure throughout the sixteenth century, during the reigns of the four other members of the Tudor family, and, in fact, until a revolution in the seventeenth century.

Henry VII repressed disorder with a heavy hand and secured the establishment of an extraordinary court, afterwards called the “Court of Star Chamber,” to hear cases, especially those affecting the nobles, which the ordinary courts had not been able to settle. Then, too, he was very economical: by means of frugality and a foreign policy of peace, the expenditure was appreciably decreased, while the public revenue was enhanced by means of more careful attention to the cultivation of the crown lands and the collection of feudal dues, fines, benevolences,<sup>1</sup> import and export duties, and past parliamentary grants. Henry VII was thereby freed in large measure from dependence on parliament for grants of money, and the power of parliament naturally declined. In fact, parliament met only five times during his whole reign and only once during the last twelve years, and in all its actions was quite subservient to the royal desires.

Henry VII refrained in general from foreign war, but sought by other means to promote the international welfare of his country. He negotiated several treaties by which English traders

<sup>1</sup> “Benevolences” were sums of money extorted from the people in the guise of gifts. A celebrated minister of Henry VII collected a very large number of “benevolences” for his master. If a man lived economically, it was reasoned he was saving money and could afford a “present” for the king. If, on the contrary, he lived sumptuously, he was evidently wealthy and could likewise afford a “gift.”

might buy and sell goods in other countries. One of the most famous of these commercial treaties was the Intercursus Magnus concluded in 1496 with the duke of Burgundy, admitting English goods into the Netherlands. He likewise encouraged English companies of merchants to engage in foreign trade and commissioned the explorations of the Cabots in the New World. Henry increased the prestige of his house by politic marital alliances. He arranged a marriage between the heir to his throne, Arthur, and Catherine, a daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Spanish sovereigns. Arthur died a few months after his wedding, but it was arranged that Catherine should remain in England as the bride of the king's second son, who subsequently became Henry VIII. The king's daughter Margaret was married to King James IV of Scotland, thereby paving the way much later for the union of the crowns of England and Scotland.

England in the year 1500 was a real national monarchy, and the power of the king appeared to be distinctly in the ascendant. Parliament was fast becoming a purely formal and perfunctory body.

Scotland in the year 1500 was also a national monarchy. But it was much weaker than England, and its monarchs, who were then of the Stuart family, had been much less successful in overcoming the clannishness of the Scottish highlanders, in disciplining the great feudal nobles, and in establishing absolutism. Besides, the Scottish monarchs, anxious to secure foreign aid against English arms, leaned heavily on France; and, in the meantime, the English language, succeeding where English arms failed, was gradually supplanting in many parts of Scotland the native Gaelic language. The Scottish national monarchy was a pawn, rather than a chief piece, in the sixteenth-century game of international politics.

On the Continent, at this time, the national monarchy of France was largely consolidated territorially and politically. It had been a slow and painful and almost accidental process, for long ago in 987, when Hugh Capet came to the throne, the France of his day was hardly more than the neighborhood of Paris. It had taken five full centuries of dynastic war and intrigue to unite the petty feudal divisions of the country into the state which we call France.

The Hundred Years' War had finally freed the western duchies

and counties from control by English sovereigns and at the same time had aroused French national feeling and created a need and desire for strong national monarchy. Just before the opening of the sixteenth century the wily and tactful Louis XI (1461-1483) had rounded out French territories: on the east he had occupied the powerful duchy of Burgundy; on the west and on the south-east he had possessed himself of most of the great inheritance of the Angevin branch of his own family, including Anjou, and Provence east of the Rhône; and on the south the French frontier had been carried to the Pyrenees. Finally, Louis's son, Charles VIII (1483-1498), by marrying the heiress of Brittany, had absorbed this western duchy into France.

Meanwhile, centralized political institutions had been taking slow but tenacious root in the country. Of course, many local institutions and customs survived in the various states which had gradually been added to France, but the king was now recognized from Flanders to Spain and from the Rhône to the ocean as the chief source of law, justice, and order. There was a uniform royal coinage and a standing army under the king's command. The monarchs had struggled valiantly against the disruptive tendencies of feudalism; they had been aided by the middle class; and the proof of their success was their comparative freedom from political checks. The estates-general, to which French commoners had been admitted in 1302, resembled in certain externals the English parliament—for example, in comprising representatives of the clergy, nobles, and commons,—but it had never had final say in levying taxes or in authorizing expenditures or in trying royal officers. And unlike England, there was in France no live tradition of popular participation in government and no written guaranty of personal liberty.

Consolidated at home in territory and in government, Frenchmen began about the year 1500 to be attracted to questions of external policy. By attempting to enforce an inherited claim to the crown of Naples, Charles VIII in 1494 started that career of foreign war and aggrandizement which was to mark the history of France throughout following centuries. His efforts in Italy were far from successful, but his heir, Louis XII (1498-1515), continued to lay claim to Naples and to the duchy of Milan as well. In 1504 Louis was obliged to resign Naples to King Ferdinand of Aragon, in whose family it remained for two centuries,

## HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE

but about Milan continued a conflict which ultimately merged into the general struggle between Francis I. (1515-1547) and the Emperor Charles V.<sup>1</sup>

France in the year 1500 was a real national monarchy, with the beginnings of a national literature and with a national patriotism centring in the king. It was becoming self-conscious. Like England, France was on the road to strong centralized government.

In southwestern Europe, beyond the Pyrenees, were the two national monarchies of Spain and Portugal, which, in a long process of unification, not only had had to contend against the same disuniting tendencies as appeared in

Spain and Portugal France and England, but also had been compelled to solve the problem of the existence side by side of two great rival religions—Christianity and Islam. Moslem invaders from Africa had secured political control of nearly the whole peninsula as early as the eighth century, but in course of time several diminutive Christian states had appeared in the northern and western mountains. These states included: Barcelona, in the northeast, along the Mediterranean; Aragon, occupying the south-central portion of the Pyrenees and extending southward toward the Ebro River; Navarre, at the west of the Pyrenees, reaching northward into what is now France and southward into what is now Spain; Castile, west of Navarre, circling about the town of Burgos; Leon, in the northwestern corner of the peninsula; and Portugal, south of Leon, lying along the Atlantic coast. Little by little these Christian states had extended their southern frontiers at the expense of the Moslem power, and through intermarriages and other dynastic policies of their ruling families they were being combined and consolidated. In this way, Barcelona was united with the kingdom of Aragon in the twelfth century, and a hundred years later Castile and Leon were finally joined. Thus, by the close of the thirteenth century, there were three important states in the peninsula—Aragon on the east, Castile in the middle, and Portugal on the west—and two less important states—Christian Navarre in the extreme north, and Moslem Granada in the extreme south.

Dynastic policy was gradually constructing a united Spain, as it was building a united Britain and a united France. While

<sup>1</sup> For this struggle, see below, pp. 229-232.

Portugal acquired its full territorial extension in the peninsula by the year 1263, the unity of modern Spain was delayed until after the marriage of Ferdinand (1479-1516) and Isabella (1474-1504), sovereigns respectively of Aragon and Castile. Granada, the last foothold of the Moslems, fell in 1492, and in 1512 Ferdinand acquired that part of the medieval kingdom of Navarre which lay upon the southern slope of the Pyrenees. The peninsula was thenceforth divided between the two states of Spain and Portugal.

Portugal, the older and smaller of the two states, had become a conspicuous national state by the year 1500, thanks to a line of able kings and to the remarkable series of foreign discoveries that cluster about the name of Prince Henry the Navigator. Portugal possessed a distinctive language of Latin origin and already cherished a literature of no mean proportions. In harmony with the spirit of the age the monarchy was tending toward absolutism, and the parliament, called the cortes, which had played an important part in earlier times, ceased to meet regularly after 1521. The Portuguese royal family was closely related to the Castilian line, and there were people in both kingdoms who hoped that one day the whole peninsula would be united under one sovereign.

From several standpoints the Spanish monarchy was less unified in 1500 than England, France, or Portugal. The union of Castile and Aragon was, for over two centuries, hardly more than personal. Each retained its own customs, parliament (cortes), and separate administration. Each possessed a distinctive language, although Castilian gradually became the literary "Spanish," while Catalan, the speech of Aragon, was reduced to the position of an inferior. Despite the continuance of great pride in local traditions and institutions, the cause of Spanish nationality received marked impetus during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. It was under them that territorial unity was obtained. It was they who turned the attention of Spaniards to foreign and colonial enterprises. The year that marked the fall of Granada and the final extinction of Moslem rule in Spain was likewise signalized by the first voyage of Christopher Columbus, which prefigured the establishment of a greater Spain beyond the seas. On the continent of Europe, Spain speedily acquired a commanding position in

Ferdinand  
and  
Isabella

international affairs, largely as the result of Ferdinand's ability. The royal house of Aragon had long held claims to the Neapolitan and Sicilian kingdoms and for two hundred years had freely mixed in the politics of Italy. Now, in 1504, Ferdinand definitely secured recognition from France of his claims in Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia. Spain was becoming the rival of Venice for the leadership of the Mediterranean.

While interfering very little with the forms of representative government in their respective kingdoms, Ferdinand and Isabella worked ever, in fact, toward uniformity and absolutism. They sought to ingratiate themselves with the middle class, to strip the nobility of its political power, and to enlist the church in their service. The cortes were more or less regularly convened, but their functions were almost imperceptibly transferred to royal commissions and officers of state. Privileges granted to towns in earlier times were gradually revoked. The king, by becoming the head of the ancient military orders which had borne prominent part in the struggle against the Moslems, easily gained control of considerable treasure and of an effective fighting force. The sovereigns prevailed upon the pope to transfer control of the Inquisition, the medieval ecclesiastical tribunal for the trial of heretics, to the crown, so that the harsh penalties which were to be inflicted for many years upon dissenters from orthodox Christianity were due not only to religious bigotry but likewise to the desire for political uniformity.

In population and in domestic resources Spain was not so important as France, but the exploits of Ferdinand and Isabella, the great wealth which temporarily flowed to her from the colonies, the prestige which long attended her diplomacy and her arms, were to exalt Spain throughout the sixteenth century to a position quite out of keeping with her inherent national strength and resources.

In northwestern Europe, in the year 1500, were three kingdoms, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, corresponding to the present-day states of those names. They had been and builded during the middle ages, when their peoples—**Denmark** and **Sweden** the Scandinavians—were most vigorous and venturesome, when they were emigrating in all directions, raiding and settling the coasts of England, Ireland, France, and southern Italy, colonizing Iceland and Greenland, conquering Finland,

and invading Russia. The three Scandinavian countries had many racial and social characteristics in common, and they had been politically united under the king of Denmark by the union of Calmar in 1397. This union, however, was never popular among the Swedes, and after a series of revolts and disorders extending over fifty years, Sweden (with Finland) became an independent national state in the sixteenth century with Gustavus Vasa (1523-1560) as monarch. Norway (with Iceland and Greenland) remained in subjection to the national state of Denmark. The kings both of Sweden and of Denmark labored in the sixteenth century with complete success to dominate the church and with considerable success to enlarge their realms and to reduce the power of parliaments and the influence of the nobility. In the Scandinavian peninsula as in the Iberian peninsula, and in France and England, royal absolutism was arising.

In eastern Europe, that is, east of the Holy Roman Empire and north of the Ottoman Empire, were certain other national states of some importance at the beginning of the sixteenth century. However, these eastern states, with one notable exception, were not destined in modern times to exemplify such national and absolutist monarchy as was exemplified in the countries of western Europe.

Bohemia, a country at the headwaters of the Elbe and Oder rivers and the core of what is now the republic of Czechoslovakia, was peopled mainly by a Slavic nationality—the Czech **Bohemia** nationality—with distinctive language and literature and national feeling, and she had had kings of her own continuously since the twelfth century. But the Czechs were a small island in a large German sea. Bohemia was traditionally a part of the Holy Roman Empire; her kings were electors of the empire and were often more concerned with imperial and German politics than with national Czech affairs; and the kingdom was permeated with German immigrants and German influences. Besides, the kingship in Bohemia had been elective, rather than hereditary; and Bohemian nobles frequently elected foreigners to the kingship. In this way a Polish prince became king of **Bohemia** in 1471; and when in 1490 this same prince was elected king of Hungary and transferred his seat of government to Budapest, Bohemia passed, to all intents and purposes, under foreign rule.

In 1526 the king of Bohemia and of Hungary perished at Mohács in battle with the Turks, and the nobles of the two countries, terrified by the rapid advance of the Ottoman power, elected as his successor the most promising prince they could think of. He was a German prince, Ferdinand of Habsburg, grandson of the Emperor Maximilian and of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, brother of the Emperor Charles V, and heir to the hereditary Habsburg archduchy of Austria. Thenceforth, for almost four centuries, Bohemia—and all the lands of the Czechs and Slovaks—were part and parcel of the Habsburg dominions; and although Bohemia retained a local parliament and some local privileges, her government was directed from Vienna, and she ceased to be, in any sense, an independent national state.

Hungary had bidden fair during the middle ages to become a national monarchy on at least an equal footing with France and England. Her territorial extent was as great, and Hungary her native kings, from the time of Stephen the Great (Saint Stephen) in the eleventh century, had displayed a high average of administrative ability and military prowess. Moreover, her population had originally been composed of a homogeneous nationality—the Magyar nationality,—descendants of a horde of Asiatic nomads, and they retained a considerable degree of national consciousness and pride. On the other hand, the Magyar nobles were particularly powerful and disorderly; no middle class developed in sufficient number to restrain them; they exploited their peasants most miserably; and, by placing drastic restrictions on the kingship and rendering it elective, they prevented the growth of strong and effective monarchy. At the same time the Magyar nobles, by conquering neighboring alien peoples—Slavic Croats and Slovaks and Latin Rumanians,—made Hungary less and less homogeneous and more and more difficult to govern as a centralized national state.

Eventually, the distracted country received a mortal blow from the Ottoman Turks on the battlefield of Mohács (1526), and after a protracted and terribly destructive contest between the Turks on one side and rival claimants to the Magyar throne on the other side, Hungary was partitioned by a truce in 1547. The Ottoman sultan secured the southern and central counties (including the capital city of Budapest); a native nobleman obtained a group of eastern counties (including the Rumanian-

speaking district of Transylvania, with the title of "prince"; and Ferdinand of Habsburg, already archduke of Austria and king of Bohemia and later Holy Roman Emperor, was recognized as sovereign of some thirty-five northern and western counties (including Croatia) with the title of king. Thus, in the sixteenth century, was Hungary divided into three separate states with divergent aims and interests, a condition of things which, with frequent rearrangements, endured for more than a century and a half. National monarchy seemed to be hopelessly lost to the Magyars at the very time it was being solidly acquired by Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Spaniards.

Northeast of Bohemia and the Holy Roman Empire were the independent national states of Poland and Lithuania. The former, though recognized as a "kingdom" in the year ~~1000~~<sup>Poland</sup>, had long been the victim of internal dis-sensions and foreign, especially German, invasions; and it was not until the fourteenth century that she had entirely freed herself from the Holy Roman Empire and become a conspicuous state in Europe. Lithuania had emerged as a kingdom in the year 1250. Both Poles and Lithuanians were Slavic peoples, akin to Czechs, Yugoslavs, and Russians; and in 1386, by the election of the king of Lithuania as king of Poland, a political union had been effected between the two peoples. Thereafter the kings of Poland-Lithuania had extended the frontiers of their joint kingdom, so that by the year 1500 it occupied a wide stretch of territory through east-central Europe and was reckoned a great military power. Internally, however, the monarchy was faced with conditions almost as difficult and perilous as those which confronted Hungary. There was friction between Poles and Lithuanians and between each of these peoples and the aliens whom they had conquered. There was a relatively weak middle class, and a very strong nobility, which insisted upon keeping the monarchy elective and extorting an ever greater number of paralyzing concessions and privileges from the crown. There was abiding enmity on the part of Germans, and a new threat to the southern lands of the monarchy from the advancing Ottoman Empire.

Northeastern Europe—beyond the confines of Finland, Lithuania, and the Ottoman Empire—was peopled by Slavic Russians, but it had long been prey to internal tribal feuds. to Scandi-

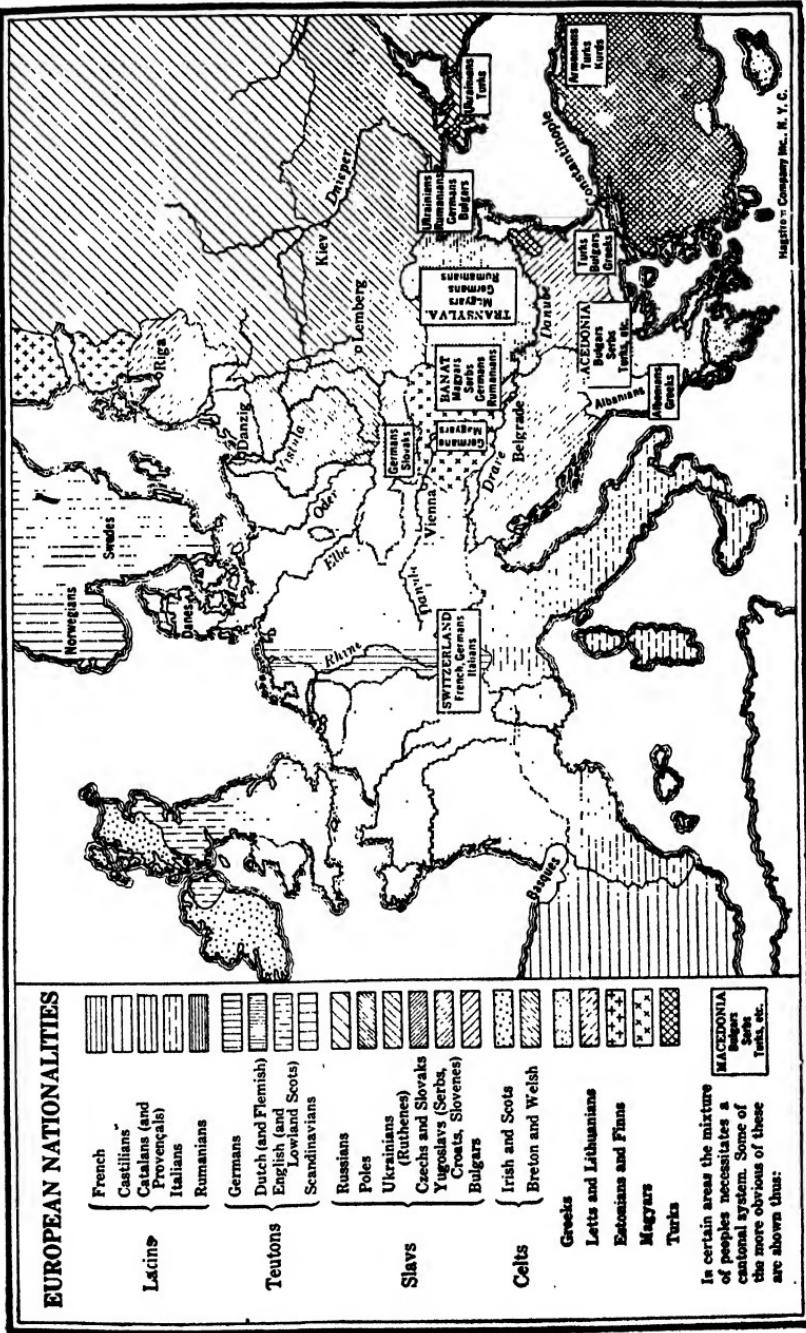
navian raids from the west, and to Mongol conquest from the east and south, and it was a rude and backward region. At the opening of the sixteenth century the chieftain of one of the large Russian principalities, Ivan III (Ivan the Great, 1462-1505), grand-duke of Muscovy, himself of Scandinavian extraction, was just beginning to lay the foundations of national monarchy. He put an end to Mongol domination, united the numerous tribal states, conquered the important towns of Novgorod and Pskov, and extended his sway as far as the Arctic Ocean and the Ural Mountains. Ivan III, moreover, married a princess who was the nearest in blood-relationship to Constantine XI, the last of the Byzantine emperors at Constantinople. Through her influence Ivan aspired to be regarded as the successor of the Graeco-Roman emperors, grew more and more absolutist, and adopted for his court at Moscow the ceremonious etiquette of Constantinople along with the emblem of the imperial double-headed eagle. In 1547, Ivan IV, appropriately called "Ivan the Terrible," the grandson of Ivan III, solemnly assumed the title of tsar, or emperor, of all the Russias. A new national monarchy, and a very absolutist one, was clearly arising in northeastern Europe.

##### 5. RISE OF NATIONAL PATRIOTISM

The rise of national monarchy in the sixteenth century was paralleled by a quickening of national consciousness—national patriotism—among European peoples. For centuries previously there had been in Europe many different nationalities, using different languages, but the masses of Europeans had been less concerned with loyalty to their respective linguistic groupings than with patriotic devotion to empire or city state, to military chieftain or local landlord, to feudal principalities or to Christendom as a whole.

In the latter part of the middle ages and at the dawn of modern times, European nationalities became more crystallized and began to command greater and more patriotic attention on the part of their members. The nationalities of Europe at the opening of the sixteenth century can be grouped principally in seven general divisions, according to the "family" of the language spoken by each. Six of these "families" were "Aryan" and distantly related to each other as well

EUROPEAN NATIONALITIES



In certain areas the mixture of peoples necessitates a cantonal system. Some of the more obvious of these are shown thus:

as to the Sanscrit, Persian, and Armenian languages of Asia. The six Aryan families of Europe, with their linguistic national subdivisions, may be outlined as follows:

(1) GREEK: (a) *Greeks*, in southeastern Europe, and also along the coasts of Asia Minor.

(2) LATIN or ROMANIC: peoples speaking languages derived from Latin: (a) *Italians*, in south-central Europe; (b) *French* in western Europe; (c) *Catalans*, in eastern Spain, and their kinsfolk, *Provençals*, in southern France; (d) *Castilians*, in central Spain; (e) *Portuguese*, to the west of Spain; and (f) *Rumanians*, in the principalities of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Transylvania, at the mouth of the Danube and to the west of the Black Sea.

(3) CELTIC: (a) *Gaels* of Scotland and Ireland; (b) *Welsh*; (c) *Bretons*, on the Continent, in the far west of France.

(4) GERMANIC or TEUTONIC: (a) *Germans*, in north-central Europe; (b) *Netherlanders*—*Flemish* or *Dutch*—along the low coasts of the North Sea; (c) *Scandinavians*, in northwestern Europe, with dialectical differences among *Danes*, *Norwegians*, and *Swedes*.

(5) SLAVIC: (a) *Czechs*, in Bohemia, and their kinsmen, *Slovaks*, to the east of them in northern Hungary; (b) *Poles*, northeast of Bohemia; (c) *Russians*, in northeastern Europe; (d) *Ukrainians*, or *Kuthenians*, southeast of the Poles and southwest of the Russians; (e) *Yugoslavs*, or “Southern Slavs,” in southeastern Europe, including *Slovenes* in the Austrian province of Carniola, *Croats* in the western part of Hungary, *Serbs* to the south of Hungary, and *Bulgarians* to the east of the Serbs.

(6) BALTIc: (a) *Lithuanians*, east of the Poles; (b) *Latvians*, or *Letts*, north of the Lithuanians.

In England had arisen a distinct nationality, speaking the hybrid *English* language curiously compounded of Teutonic and Latin elements.

The seventh “family” of languages—the TURANIAN—differed radically from the preceding Aryan “families,” and was represented in Europe by three distinct languages, spoken by as many disparate nationalities: (a) *Magyars*, or *Hungarians*, in the middle plains of the Danube River; (b) *Finns*, in northern Europe, northeast of Sweden and northwest of Russia, and their neighboring kinsmen, the *Estonians*, just south of the Gulf

of Bothnia; (c) *Turks*, the dominant people within the Ottoman Empire.

In addition, there were two small peculiar peoples, neither Aryan nor Turanian in speech, but retaining languages probably of very great antiquity: (a) *Basques*, in the Pyrenees, between France and Spain; and (b) *Albanians*, along the Adriatic, north of the Greeks. Besides, there were groups of *Moors* and *Arabs* in Spain, remnants of earlier Moslem invaders; and throughout Europe were settlements of Semitic *Jews*, fairly numerous in Spain, Portugal, and the Ottoman Empire, and most numerous in Poland and Lithuania.

Altogether, there were more than thirty nationalities in Europe. And by the year 1500 some of them were developing a self-consciousness and a national patriotism which boded ill both to the petty medieval divisions of feudalism and to the older unity of Christendom.

The crusades had been especially significant in stimulating national feeling. By inducing extensive travel on an unprecedented scale, they had taught many Europeans to surmount their localism and to acquire a surer knowledge not only of large aggregates of people who spoke the same language or kindred dialects but also of other large aggregates who conversed in alien tongues. Such persons grew proud of their own nationalities and scornful of others.

Stimulation of National Feeling

The crusading spirit, moreover, had produced special national rivalries within Christendom. The major crusades, in which Frenchmen were the foremost participants, had fostered French national feeling and French rivalry with German and English participants. The so-called fourth crusade had aroused great bitterness between Frenchmen and Italians, on the one hand, and Greeks, on the other hand. From the conflict between Christians and Moslems in the Iberian peninsula had emerged a lively national consciousness among Castilians, Catalans, and Portuguese. It was the crusading efforts of a military-religious German Order—the Teutonic Knights—against pagan Slavs on the eastern Baltic which, in conjunction with commercial activities of the Hanseatic League and political endeavors of the German rulers of the Holy Roman Empire, had proudly carried German conquests and colonies eastward and had eventually stirred Slavic peoples to national resistance. The sanguinary wars

of the fifteenth century between the states of the Teutonic Knights and the Polish monarchy were at once a result and a continuing cause of national rivalry between Germans and Slavs.

Religious dissent, or heresy, had likewise become a cloak for national movements, and its suppression a means of gratifying rival national ambitions. For example, the Albigensian heresy had spread among the Provençal nationality, and the crusade which had stamped out that heresy had been undertaken by Frenchmen and had resulted in the subjugation of Provence by France and the subordination of Provençal to French. Likewise, the Hussite heresy of the fifteenth century had been adopted by Czechs, and the crusades which exterminated it were manned by Germans and followed by the national subjection of Bohemia to German nobles and German princes.

From religious crusades to national crusades was only a step. The Hundred Years' War between the kings of England and France (1337-1453), beginning as a feudal conflict, ended as a national crusade of Frenchmen, inspired by Jeanne d'Arc, against the "Goddams," that is, the English. It promoted the growth of national feeling in both countries. It united the French-speaking people under a French monarch, and it restricted the realm of the English monarch chiefly to English-speaking people. It also promoted the growth of absolutism in both countries, for henceforth the monarchs could count upon the patriotic support of their respective peoples against divisive tendencies at home as well as against threatening dangers abroad.

National patriotism before the year 1500 had been principally personal. It was directed toward a national monarch more than toward a nationality as such. It was strongest in those countries whose monarchs had succeeded in uniting a people of the same language under a common sceptre and a common law. The rise of national patriotism aided the development of national monarchy, and, in turn, the development of national monarchy stimulated the rise of national patriotism.

The monarchs themselves builded *national* states less by design than by chance. It was a fortune of war which obliged the English monarchs in the fifteenth century to abandon their possessions in France and to devote their main energies to Britain.

It was a dynastic marriage alliance which united Spain under Ferdinand and Isabella. Indeed, the national monarchs of the sixteenth century waged wars and contracted marriages for personal and dynastic purposes, rather than for nationalist ends; and they entertained no idea of confining their ambitions to lands and peoples of their own language. They frequently acquired territory inhabited by "foreigners," and they bartered their subjects as if they were sheep and cattle. They thought in terms of dynasty, not in terms of nationality.

Yet in all dynastic conflicts and family transactions, the core of each monarchy was more and more a nationality of common language and common traditions, imbued increasingly with patriotic loyalty to the monarch. Such was certainly the case in England, France, Spain, Portugal, and the Scandinavian countries. Such was at least the aspiration in Bohemia, Poland, Hungary, and Russia. Such, too, was the hope of many prominent citizens in regions, such as Germany, the Netherlands, Italy, and southeastern Europe, where empires or city states existed and national monarchies were lacking.

Absolutist monarchy, it should be emphasized, played a leading rôle in exalting national consciousness at the dawn of modern times. The monarch was becoming the symbol of national unity and independence, and in him resided national sovereignty. In fact, "monarch" and "sovereign" already were interchangeable terms. It was the monarch who coined money, levied taxes, maintained the army, declared war, and made peace. It was the nation which patriotically acquiesced in these acts of its sovereign. It was around the institution of monarchy that national traditions grew up, and it was under the patronage of the new national monarchs that much national literature was produced.

The rise of national patriotism was evidenced in the rise of national absolutist monarchy. It was also evidenced at the same time in the rise of vernacular literatures.

Greek and especially Latin had been the predominant literary languages of all European nationalities during many earlier centuries. Prevailing within the old Roman Empire, they had early become the official languages of Christendom; and so long as most writing was done by Christian priests and missionaries, it was done in Greek in

National  
Litera-  
tures

eastern Europe and in Latin in central and western Europe. Of course, side by side with these written international languages persisted the variety of national languages—the so-called vernaculars—which have been outlined above and which were spoken by the vulgar people. But literary production in these vernaculars had at first been relatively slight in quantity and religious rather than national in content; even the requisite alphabets and forms of letters had been borrowed and adapted from Greek or Latin.

Throughout the middle ages and into the sixteenth century, all educated persons in central and western Europe knew Latin as well as their native tongue. They thus belonged not only to diverse nationalities but also unmistakably to the international society of Christendom. They possessed a comprehensive literary tradition, a single medium for oral and written communication, and a tool by which they could readily bridge national differences. For instance, Erasmus, the foremost scholar of Europe at the opening of the sixteenth century, was a Netherlander by birth, but his mastery of Latin made him at home in many countries: he lived among educated Frenchmen, Englishmen, Italians, Germans, and Flemings, with all of whom he could correspond and talk in Latin; for a time he lectured in Latin at the College of France; and by means of Latin he communicated with the pope, with the kings of England, France, and Spain, with his famous publisher at Venice, and with his numerous critics in all parts of Christendom.

. Before the time of Erasmus, however, educated men were already beginning to write in the vulgar tongues and not by any means exclusively on religious subjects; and presently literary masterpieces were appearing in the vernacular languages of the masses as well as in the ancient languages of scholars. In the fourteenth century, Dante wrote in Italian and Chaucer in English. Thenceforth one vernacular after another became the vehicle of distinctive and splendid literary expression. Two developments of the fifteenth century aided the process. The one was the attempt of certain scholars—the so-called Humanists—to purify Latin of its medieval developments, which had been in the direction of greater simplicity, and to restore ancient classical Latin with its involved sentence-structure and its complicated grammar, an attempt which did much to discredit Latin

as a living literary language and to restrict its use to the classroom, to scientific treatises, and to ecclesiastical services. The other development was the invention of printing, which served to stereotype the common spoken languages, to fix for each a norm of literary usage, and to render possible the dissemination of national literature among the masses.

The rise of vernacular literatures in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries tended to emphasize nationality, for not even a well-educated person could be expected to know all the languages spoken in Europe, and the large majority of Europeans were familiar only with the language of their own nationality. English authors naturally began to write for readers in England and to stress what they thought was peculiar to England; French authors did the same for France; Italian authors for Italy; German writers for Germany; etc. Gradually, national characteristics were imaginatively depicted and national aspirations were poignantly voiced. In the sixteenth century, Machiavelli made eloquent national appeals to the Italians, Camoens celebrated glorious national exploits of the Portuguese, Luther addressed stirring patriotic letters to the Germans, Cervantes played fancifully with Spanish character, and Shakespeare glamorously penned the praises of England.

A new patriotic and political ideal was obviously possessing Europeans in the sixteenth century, the ideal of strong national monarchy backed by the firm loyalty of a national citizenry. It seems to have originated in a reaction alike against the practice of anarchical feudalism and against the theory of paramount imperialism, and it appears to have been nourished by the gradual rise of national vernacular literatures and by the example of certain princes who more or less fortuitously established an absolute sway over particular linguistic nationalities.

The new ideal was menacing to old historic institutions of Europe. It threatened not only the destruction of feudalism but also the disruption of Christendom and the extinction of the Holy Roman Empire. In truth, before the sixteenth century was ended, Christianity was largely nationalized and the Holy Roman Empire was irreparably weakened, and, as we shall presently see, commerce and the rivalries of commerce took on a complexion predominantly national. National patriotism, as

The Idea  
of Na-  
tional  
Patriotism

exploited by ambitious national monarchs, inspired a good deal of the commercial expansion and conflict and likewise a good deal of the religious reformation and upheaval which characterized the sixteenth century; and, in turn, these events magnified national patriotism.



## CHAPTER II

### ECONOMIC EXPANSION

#### I. EUROPEAN AGRICULTURE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY



O SHARP change occurred in the basis of European society at the opening of the sixteenth century. That society rested, as previously it had rested for immemorial centuries, on agriculture. People still reckoned their wealth and social position not so much by the quantity of cash and paper they held as by the extent of farm land they owned. Farming was still the occupation of the vast majority of the inhabitants of every European state. The "masses" lived in the country, not, as to-day, in the city.

In certain respects a remarkable uniformity prevailed in rural districts throughout Europe. Whether one visited Germany, Hungary, Poland, France, or England, one was sure to find the agricultural population sharply divided into two social classes—nobility and peasantry. There might be varying gradations of these classes in different regions, but everywhere the two classes were clearly distinguishable.

The nobility<sup>1</sup> comprised families who gained a living from the soil without manual labor. They held the land on feudal tenure, that is to say, they had a right to be supported by the peasants living on their estates, and, in return, they owed to some higher or wealthier nobleman or to the king certain duties, such as fighting for him,<sup>2</sup> attending his court at specified times, and paying him various irregular taxes

<sup>1</sup> As a part of the nobility must be included at the beginning of the sixteenth century many of the higher clergy of the Catholic Church—archbishops, bishops, and abbots—who sometimes came by birth of peasant families (though, more often, they were younger sons of noble families), but who derived their living and wealth from large landed estates quite like the lay nobles and, like these, were addressed as "Your Lordships."

<sup>2</sup> This obligation rested only upon lay noblemen, not upon ecclesiastics.

(the feudal dues). The estate of each nobleman might embrace a single farm, or "manor" as it was called in England, enclosing a petty hamlet, or village; or it might include dozens of such manors; or, if the landlord were a particularly mighty magnate or powerful prelate, it might stretch over whole counties.

Each nobleman had his manor-house or, if he were rich enough, his castle, lording it over the humble thatch-roofed cottages of the villagers. In his stables were spirited horses and a carriage adorned with his family crest; he had servants and lackeys, a footman to open his carriage door, a game-warden to keep poachers from shooting his deer, and men-at-arms to quell disturbances, to aid him against quarrelsome neighbors, or to follow him to the wars. While he lived, he might occupy the best pew in the village church; when he died, he would be laid to rest within the church, where only noblemen were buried.

In earlier times, when feudal society was young, the nobility had performed a very real service as the defenders of the peasants against foreign enemies and likewise against marauders and bandits of whom the land had been full. Then fighting had been the profession of the nobility. And to enable them to possess the expensive accoutrements of fighting—horses, armor, swords, and lances—they had been assured of liberal incomes.

Now, however, at the opening of the sixteenth century, the palmy days of feudalism were past and gone. Later generations of noblemen, although they continued by right of inheritance to enjoy the financial income and the social prestige which their forbears had earned, no longer served king, country, or common people in the traditional manner. At least in the national monarchies the king had now undertaken the defense of the land and the preservation of peace; and the nobleman, deprived of his old occupation, had little else to do than to hunt, or quarrel with other noblemen, or engage in political intrigues. More and more the nobility were being attracted to a life of amusement and luxury in royal courts.

In striking contrast to the nobility—the small minority of land-owning aristocrats—were the peasantry—the mass of the people. They were the human beings who had to toil for their bread in the sweat of their brows and who, being of ignoble birth, were treated as social inferiors, stupid and rude. Actual farm work was "servile labor," and

The  
Peasantry

between the man whose hands were stained by servile labor and the person of "gentle birth" a wide gulf was fixed.

During the early middle ages most of the peasants throughout Europe had been "serfs." For various reasons, which we shall presently explain, serfdom had tended gradually to die out in western Europe. On the other hand, however, serfdom was actually intensified in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Prussia, Hungary, Poland, and Russia; and even in France and Spain a considerable number of serfs continued to live and work on nobles' estates in accordance with medieval customs which can be described collectively as the "manorial system."

The serf occupied a position in rural society which it is difficult for us to understand. He was not a slave, such as was usual in the southern states of the American Union before the Civil War; he was neither a hired man nor a rent-paying tenant-farmer, such as is common enough in all agricultural communities nowadays. The serf was not a slave, because he was free to work for himself at least part of the time; he could not be sold to another master; and he could not be deprived of the right to cultivate land for his own benefit. He was not a hired man, for he received no wages. And he was not a tenant-farmer, inasmuch as he was "attached to the soil," that is, he was bound to stay and work on his land, unless he succeeded in running away or in purchasing complete freedom, in which case he would cease to be a serf and would become a freeman.

To the lord of the manor the serf was under many and varied obligations, the most essential of which may be grouped as follows: (1) The serf had to work without pay two or three days in each week on the strips of land and the fields whose produce belonged exclusively to the nobleman. In the harvest season extra days, known as "boon-days," were stipulated on which the serf must leave his own work in order to harvest for the lord. He also might be called upon in emergencies to supply the great manor-house with wood from the forest, or to keep the highway in repair. (2) The serf had to pay occasional dues, customarily "in kind." Thus at certain feast-days he was expected to bring a dozen fat fowls or a bushel of grain to the pantry of the manor-house. (3) Ovens, wine-presses, grist-mills, and bridges were usually owned solely by the nobleman, and each time the peasant used them he was obliged to contribute one of his loaves

of bread, a share of his wine, a bushel of his grain, or a toll-fee, as a kind of rent, or "banality" as it was euphoniously styled. (4) If the serf died without heirs, his holdings were transferred outright to the lord, and if he left heirs, the nobleman had the right of "heriot," that is, to appropriate the best animal owned by the deceased peasant, and of "relief," that is, to oblige the designated heir to make a special payment which was equivalent to an inheritance tax.

Out of crusades and civil wars and the rise of national monarchy, and out of simultaneous pestilences destructive both

**Emergence of Capitalism in Agriculture** to man and beast, had emerged in the later middle ages a profound agricultural change which was quite conspicuous by the year 1500, especially in western Europe, and which was destined to provide a distinctive economic foundation for modern times. Feudalism was

waning. Feudal nobles, instead of farming their own demesnes by the traditional manorial services of their peasants, were becoming receivers of rent; they were beginning to view their estates as capitalistic enterprises and to expect from them not mere living but profits. This meant that a goodly number of peasants who had once been serfs were now becoming free-tenants, lessees, or hired laborers. Of course rent of farm-land in our present-day sense—each owner letting out his property to a tenant and, in return, exacting as large a monetary payment as possible—was still unknown. But there was a growing class of peasants who were spoken of as free-tenants to distinguish them from serf-tenants. These free-tenants, while paying regular dues, as did the others, were not compelled to work two or three days every week in the nobleman's fields, except occasionally in busy seasons such as harvest; they were free to leave the estate and to marry off their daughters or to sell their oxen without the consent of the lord; and they came to regard their customary payments to the lord not so much as his due for their protection as actual rent for their land.

While more prosperous peasants were becoming free-tenants, many of their poorer neighbors found it so difficult to gain a living as serfs that they were willing to surrender all claim to their own little strips of land on the manor and to devote their whole time to working for fixed wages on the fields which were cultivated for the nobleman himself, the so-called demesne

of the lord. Thus a body of hired laborers was growing up, claiming no land beyond that on which their miserable huts stood and possibly their small garden-plots.

Besides hired laborers and free-tenants, a third group of peasants was appearing in places where the noble proprietor did not care to superintend the cultivation of his own land. In this case he parcelled it out among particular peasants, furnishing each with livestock and a plough and exacting in return a fixed proportion of the crops, which in France usually amounted to one half. Peasants who made such a bargain were called in France *métayers*, and in England "stock-and-land lessees." The arrangement was not different essentially from the familiar present-day practice of working a farm "on shares."

In western Europe the serfs had mostly become hired laborers, free-tenants, or *métayers* by the sixteenth century. The old obligations of serfdom had proved too galling for the peasant and too unprofitable for the noble. It was much easier and cheaper for the latter to hire men to work just when he needed them, than to bother with serfs, who could not be discharged readily for slackness, and who naturally worked for themselves far more zealously than for him. For this reason many landlords were glad to allow their serfs to make payments in money or in grain in lieu of the performance of customary labor. In England, moreover, many nobles, finding it profitable to enclose<sup>1</sup> their land in order to utilize it as pastureage for sheep, voluntarily freed their serfs. The result was that serfdom had virtually disappeared in England before the sixteenth century. In France as early as the fourteenth century the majority of the serfs had purchased their liberty, although in some districts serfdom survived in its pristine vigor. In other countries, notably in Germany and the lands of eastern Europe, agricultural conditions were more backward, the eagerness for profits was less in evidence, and serfdom was still usual.

Decline of  
Serfdom  
in West-  
ern  
Europe

Emancipation from serfdom by no means released the peasants of western Europe from all the disabilities under which they had labored as serfs. True, the freeman no longer had week-work to do, provided he could pay for his time, and in theory at least he could marry as he chose and move freely from place

<sup>1</sup> There were no fences on the old manors. Enclosing a plot of ground meant fencing or hedging it in. .

to place. But he might still be called upon for an occasional day's labor, he still was expected to work on the roads, and he still had to pay annoying fees for oven, mill, and wine-press. Then, too, his own crops might be eaten with impunity by doves from the noble dove-cote or trampled underfoot by a merry hunting-party from the manor-house. The peasant himself ventured not to hunt: he was precluded even from shooting the deer that devoured his garden.

In another important respect the manorial system survived long after serfdom had begun to decline. This was the method of

**Primitive Methods of Farming** farming. A universal and insistent tradition had fixed agricultural method on the medieval manor and tended to preserve it unaltered well into modern times. The tradition was that of the "three-field system" of agriculture. The land of the manor, which might vary in amount from a few hundred to five thousand acres, was not divided up into separate farms, as it would be now. The waste-land, which could be used only for pasture, and the woodland on the outskirts of the clearing, were treated as "commons." That is to say, each villager, as well as the lord of the manor, might freely gather fire-wood, or he might turn his swine loose to feed on the acorns in the forest and his cattle to graze over the entire pasture. The arable land was divided into several—usually three—great grain fields. Ridges or "balks" of unploughed turf divided each field into long parallel strips, which were usually forty rods or a furlong (furrow-long) in length, and from one to four rods wide. Each peasant had exclusive right to one or more of these strips in each of the three great fields, making, say, thirty acres in all;<sup>1</sup> the nobleman too had individual right to a number of strips in the great fields.

This so-called three-field system of agriculture was distinctly disadvantageous in many ways. Much time was wasted in going back and forth between the scattered plots of land. The individual peasant, moreover, was bound by custom to cultivate his land precisely as his ancestors had done, without attempting

<sup>1</sup> In some localities it was usual to redistribute these strips every year. In that way the greater part of the manor was theoretically "common" land, and no peasant had a right of private ownership to any one strip.

to introduce improvements. He grew the same crops as his neighbors—usually wheat or rye in one field; barley, oats, beans, or peas in the second; and nothing in the third. Little was known about preserving the fertility of the soil by artificial manuring or by rotation of crops; and, although every year one third of the land was left “fallow” (uncultivated) in order to restore its fertility, the yield per acre was hardly a fourth as large as now. Farm implements were of the crudest kind; scythes and sickles did the work of mowing machines; ploughs were made of wood, occasionally shod with iron; and threshing was done with flails. After the grain had been harvested, cattle were turned out indiscriminately on the stubble, on the supposition that the fields were common property. It was useless to attempt to breed fine cattle when all were herded together. The breed deteriorated, and both cattle and sheep were undersized and poor. A full-grown ox was hardly larger than a good-sized calf of the present time. Moreover, there were no potatoes or turnips, and few farmers grew clover or other grasses for winter fodder. It was impossible, therefore, to keep many cattle through the winter; most of the animals were killed off in the autumn and salted down for the cold months when it was impossible to secure fresh meat.

Crude farm-methods and the heavy dues exacted by the lord<sup>1</sup> of the manor must have left the poor man little for himself. Compared with the lot of the farmer to-day, the poverty of sixteenth-century peasants must have been inexpressibly distressful. How keenly the cold pierced the dark huts of the poorest, is hard for us to imagine. The winter diet of salt meat, the lack of vegetables, the chronic filth and squalor, and the sorry ignorance of all laws of health opened the way to contagion and disease. If crops failed, famine was added to plague.

Rural  
Life in the  
Sixteenth  
Century .

On the other hand we must not forget that the tenement-houses of our great cities have been crowded in recent times with people almost as miserable as was the serf of the middle ages. The serf, at any rate, had the open air instead of a factory

<sup>1</sup> In addition to the dues paid to the lay lord, the peasants were under obligation to make to the church a regular contribution which was called the “tithe” and amounted to a share, less than a tenth, of the annual crops.

to work in. When times were good, he had grain and meat in plenty, and wine or ale, and he hardly envied the tapestryed chambers, the bejewelled clothes, and the spiced foods of the nobility, for he looked upon them as belonging to a different world.

In one place nobleman and peasant met on a common footing—in the village church. There, on Sundays and feast-days, they came together as Christians to hear Mass; and afterwards, perhaps, holiday games and dancing on the green, benignantly patronized by the nobleman's family, helped the common folk to forget their labors. The village priest,<sup>1</sup> himself often of humble birth, though the most learned man on the manor, was at once the friend and benefactor of the poor and the spiritual director of the lord. Occasionally a visit of the bishop to administer confirmation to the children, afforded an opportunity for special gayety.

At other times there was little to disturb the monotony of village life and little to remind it of the outside world, except when a gossiping peddler chanced along, or when the squire rode away to court or to war. Intercourse with other villages was not vital, unless there were no blacksmith or miller on the spot, and in any case it was not easy. Europe in those days was relatively "roadless." The fine road system of the ancient Romans had disintegrated long ago; no comparable system had been developed during the middle ages; and the roads which actually existed were poor and in wet weather impassable. Long-distance communication was therefore difficult and insecure. No transportation in bulk was possible, except by water. Land travel was almost wholly on horseback, and what commodities were transported by land were carried by pack-horses. Of the inhabitants of a particular village, only a few soldiers and pilgrims, and possibly a priest, had travelled very much; they were the only geographies and the only books of travel which the village possessed, for few peasants could read or write.

Self-sufficient and secluded from the outer world, the rural village went on treasuring its traditions, keeping its old cus-

<sup>1</sup> Usually very different from the higher clergy, who had large landed estates of their own, the parish priests had but modest incomes from the tithes of their parishioners and frequently eked out a living by toiling on allotted patches of ground. The individual monks too were ordinarily poor, although the monastery might be wealthy, and they likewise often tilled the fields.

toms, century after century. The country instinctively distrusted all novelties; it always preferred old ways to new; it was heartily conservative. Country-folk did not open up new routes to Asia or discover America. It was the enterprise of the cities, with their growing industries and commerce, which brought about the overseas expansion of Europe; and to the development of commerce, industry, and the towns, we now must turn our attention.

## 2. EUROPEAN CITIES AND COMMERCE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Except for the wealthy Italian city-states and certain other cities which traced their history back to ancient Roman and Greek times, most European towns, it must be remembered, dated only from the later middle ages. In the early middle ages there had been little excuse for their existence except to sell to farmers salt, fish, iron, and a few ploughs. But with the increase of commerce, which, as we shall see, especially marked the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, more merchants travelled through the country, ways of spending money multiplied, and the little agricultural villages learned to look on the town as the place wherein to buy not only luxuries but such tools, clothing, and shoes as could be manufactured more conveniently by skillful town artisans than by farm-hands. The towns, moreover, became exchanges where surplus farm products could be marketed, where wine could be bartered for wool, or wheat for flax. And as the towns grew in size, the prosperous citizens proved to be the best customers for foreign luxuries, and foreign trade grew apace. Town, trade, and industry thus worked together: trade stimulated industry, industry assisted trade, and the town profited by both. By the sixteenth century many towns had grown out of their infancy and were exercising a large measure of political and economic influence.

Rise of  
Towns

Originally many a town had belonged to some nobleman's extensive manor, and its inhabitants had been under much the same servile obligations to the lord as were the strictly rural serfs. But with the lapse of time and the growth of the towns, the townsmen or burghers had begun a struggle for freedom from their feudal lords. They did not want to pay servile dues to a baron, but preferred to substitute a fixed annual payment for

individual obligations. They besought the right to manage their market. They wished to have cases at law tried in a court of their own rather than in the feudal court over which the nobleman presided. They demanded the right to pay all taxes in a lump sum for the town, themselves assessing and collecting the share of each citizen. These concessions they eventually had won, and each city had its charter, in which its privileges were enumerated and recognized by the authority of the nobleman, or of the king, to whom the city owed allegiance. In England these charters had been acquired generally by merchant guilds, upon payment of a substantial sum to the nobleman. In France frequently the townsmen had formed associations, called *communes*, and had rebelled successfully against their feudal lords. In Germany the cities had leagued together for mutual protection and for the acquisition of common privileges. Some towns, founded by bishops, abbots, or counts, had received charters at the very outset. In the rising national states, the monarchs had usually favored the towns in order to weaken feudalism, and the townsmen had become correspondingly devoted to the cause of strong national monarchy.

Within most European towns of the year 1500, whether those included in national monarchies or those still constituting free city states, there had long existed a typically urban organization known as the merchant guild or the merchants' company. The merchant guilds were everywhere in decline, but they still preserved many of their earlier and more glorious traditions. At the time of their greatest importance they had embraced merchants, butchers, bankers, and candlestickmakers; in fact, all who bought or sold in the town were included in the guild. And the merchant guild had then possessed the widest functions.

Its social and religious functions, inherited from much earlier bodies, consisted in paying some special honor to a patron saint, in giving aid to members in sickness or misfortune, in attending funerals, and also in the more enjoyable meetings when the freely flowing bowl enlivened the transaction of guild business.

As a protective organization, the guild had been particularly effective. Backed by the combined forces of all the guildsmen, it was able to assert itself against the nobleman who claimed manorial rights over the town, and to insist that a runaway

serf who had lived in the town for a year and a day should not be dragged back to perform his servile labor on the manor, but should be recognized as a freeman. The protection of the guild was accorded also to townsmen on their travels. In those days all strangers were regarded as suspicious persons, and not infrequently when a merchant of the guild travelled to another town he would be set upon and robbed or cast into prison. In such cases it was necessary for the guild to ransom the imprisoned "brother" and, if possible, to punish the persons who had done the injury, so that thereafter the liberties of the guild members would be respected. That the business of the guild might be increased, it was often desirable to enter into special arrangements with neighboring cities whereby the rights, lives, and properties of guildsmen were guarantied; and the guild as a whole was responsible for the debts of any of its members.

The most important duty of the guild had been the regulation of the home market. Burdensome restrictions were laid upon the stranger who attempted to utilize the advantages of the market without sharing the expense of its maintenance. No goods were allowed to be carried away from the city if the townsmen wished to buy; and a tax, called in France the *octroi*, was levied on goods brought into the town. Moreover, a conviction prevailed that the guild was morally bound to enforce honest straightforward methods of business; and the "warders" appointed by the guild to supervise the market endeavored to prevent, as dishonest practices, "forestalling" (buying outside of the regular market), "engrossing" (cornering the market), and "regrating" (retailing at higher than market price). The dishonest green-grocer was not allowed to use a peck-measure with false bottom, for weighing and measuring were done by officials. Cheats were fined heavily, and if they persisted in their evil ways, they might be expelled from the guild.

With the expansion of trade and industry in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the rule of the old merchant guilds, instead of keeping pace with the times, became oppressive, limited, or merely nominal. Where the merchant guilds became oppressive oligarchical associations, as they did in Germany and elsewhere on the Continent, they lost their power by the revolt of the more democratic "craft guilds." In England specialized control of industry and trade by craft guilds, journey-

men's guilds, and dealers' associations gradually took the place of the general supervision of the older merchant guild. By the sixteenth century the merchant guild was losing its vitality and being divested of its functions. It quietly succumbed, or it lived on with influence in a limited branch of trade, or it continued as an honorary organization with occasional feasts, or (and this was especially true in England) it became practically identical with the town corporation, from which originally it had been distinct.

Alongside of the merchant guilds, which had been associated with the growth of commerce and the rise of towns, were other guilds which were connected with industrial enterprise  
*Craft Guilds* and which retained their importance long after 1500.

These were the craft guilds.<sup>1</sup> Springing into prominence in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the craft guild sometimes, as in Germany, voiced a popular revolt against a corrupt and oligarchical merchant guild, and sometimes—most frequently so in England—worked quite harmoniously with the merchant guild, to which its own members belonged. In common with the merchant guild, the craft guild had religious and social aspects, and like the merchant guild it insisted on righteous dealings. But unlike the merchant guild, the craft guild was composed of men in a single industry, and it controlled in detail the manufacture as well as the marketing of commodities. There were bakers' guilds, brewers' guilds, smiths' guilds, saddlers' guilds, shoemakers' guilds, weavers' guilds, tailors' guilds, tanners' guilds, even guilds of masters of arts who constituted the teaching staff of colleges and universities.

When to-day we speak of a boy "serving his apprenticeship" in a trade, we seldom reflect that the expression is derived from a practice of the craft guilds, a practice which survived after the guilds were extinct. Apprenticeship was designed to make sure that recruits to the trade were properly trained. The apprentice was usually selected as a boy by a master-workman and indentured—that is, bound to work several years without wages, while living at the master's house. After the expiration of this period of apprenticeship, during which he had learned his trade, the youth became a "journeyman," and worked for wages, until he should finally be admitted to the guild as a master, with

<sup>1</sup> The craft guild was also called a company, or a mistery, or a *métier* (French), or a *Zunft* (German).

the right to set up his own little shop, with apprentices and journeymen of his own, and to sell his wares directly to those who used them.

This restriction of membership was not the only way in which the trade was supervised. The guild had rules specifying the quality of materials to be used and often the methods of manufacture; it might prohibit night-work, and it usually fixed a "fair price" at which goods were to be sold. By means of such provisions, enforced by wardens or inspectors, the guild not only perpetuated the "good old way" of doing things, but assured to the purchaser a good article at a fair price.

By the opening of the sixteenth century the craft guilds, though not so weakened as the merchant guilds, were suffering from various internal diseases which gradually sapped their vitality. They tended to become exclusive and to direct their power and affluence in hereditary grooves. They steadily raised their entrance fees and qualifications. Struggles between guilds in allied trades, such as spinning, weaving, fulling, and dyeing, often resulted in the reduction of several guilds to a dependent position. The regulation of the processes of manufacture, once designed to keep up the standard of skill, came in time to hinder technical improvements; and in the method as well as in the amount of his work, the enterprising master found himself handicapped. Even the old conscientiousness often gave way to greed, until in many places inferior workmanship received the approval of the guild.

Many craft guilds were exhibiting in the sixteenth century a tendency to split somewhat along the modern lines of capital and labor. On the one hand the old guild organization would be usurped and controlled by the wealthier master-workmen, called "livery men," because they wore rich uniforms, or a class of dealers would arise and organize a "merchants' company" to conduct a wholesale business in the products of a particular industry. Thus the rich drapers sold all the cloth, but did not help to make it. On the other hand it became increasingly difficult for journeymen and apprentices to rise to the station of masters; oftentimes they remained wage-earners for life. In order to better their condition they founded new associations, which in England were called journeymen's or yeomen's companies. These new organizations were symptomatic of injustice

## HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE

but otherwise unimportant. The craft guilds, with all their imperfections, were to remain influential a while longer, slowly declining as new trades arose outside of their control, gradually succumbing in competition with capitalists who refused to be bound by guild rules and who were to evolve a new "domestic system," and, in national monarchies, slowly suffering diminution of prestige through royal interference.

It must be borne in mind that the European towns of the year 1500 were comparatively small, for the vast majority of people still lived in country villages. A town of 5,000 inhabitants was then accounted large; and even the largest places, like Paris, London, Seville, Venice, Lübeck, and Bruges, had populations of less than a hundred thousand. The approach to an ordinary

**Urban Life in the Sixteenth Century** city of the time lay through suburbs, farms, and garden-plots, for the townsman still supplemented industry with small-scale agriculture. Usually the town itself was enclosed by strong walls, and admission was to be gained only by passing through the gates, where one might be accosted by soldiers and forced to pay toll. Inside the walls were clustered houses of every description. Rising from the midst of tumble-down dwellings might stand a magnificent cathedral, town-hall, or guild building. Here and there a prosperous merchant would have his luxurious home, built in western Europe in what we now call the Gothic style, with pointed windows and gables, and, to save space in a walled town, with the second storey projecting out over the street.

The streets were usually in deplorable condition. One or two might be highways, but the rest were mere alleys, devious, dark, and dirty. Often their narrowness made them impassable for wagons. In places the pedestrian waded gallantly through mud and garbage; pigs grunted ponderously as he pushed them aside; chickens ran under his feet; and occasionally a dead dog obstructed the way. There were no sidewalks, and only the main thoroughfares were paved. Dirt and filth were ordinarily disposed of only when a heaven-sent rain washed them down the open gutters constructed along the middle, or on each side, of a street. Not only was there no general sewerage for the town, but there was likewise no public water supply. In many of the garden-plots at the rear of the low-roofed dwellings were dug wells which provided water for the family; and the visitor, be-

fore he left the town, would be likely to encounter water-sellers calling out their ware. To guard against the danger of fires, each municipality encouraged its citizens to build their houses of stone and to keep a tub full of water before every building; and in each district a special official was equipped with a proper hook and cord for pulling down houses on fire. At night respectable town-life was almost at a standstill: the gates were shut; the curfew sounded; no street-lamps dispelled the darkness, except possibly an occasional lantern which an altruistic or festive townsman might hang in his front window; and no efficient police-force existed. A mere handful of townsmen were drafted from time to time as "watchmen" to preserve order, and the "night watch" was famed rather for its ability to sleep or to roister than to protect life or purse. Under these circumstances the citizen who would escape an assault by ruffians or thieves remained prudently indoors at night and retired early to bed. Picturesque and quaint the sixteenth-century town may have been; but it was also an uncomfortable and an unhealthful place in which to live.

Yet, despite the relative backwardness and slovenliness of European cities in the year 1500, it was their inhabitants—the bourgeoisie, or class of town dwellers,—rather than peasantry or nobility, who were already creating the economic foundations for the predominantly bourgeois society of modern times. The towns were growing, their commerce was expanding, their manufacturers were becoming more skilled and their merchants more venturesome; they were beginning to search for new and distant sources of wealth and to establish the régime of modern capitalism.

The economic revolution in evidence in the sixteenth century was not a sudden upheaval. It had been unobtrusively developing with the reviving commerce of the later middle ages within Europe and between Europe and Asia.

Trade between Europe and Asia, which had been a feature of the antique world of Greeks and Romans, had been very nearly destroyed by the barbarian invasions of the fifth century and by subsequent conflicts between Moslems and Christians, so that during several centuries the old trade routes were travelled only by a few Jews and Syrians. In the middle ages, however, a revival occurred, greatly quickened by the crusades. Venice, Genoa, and

Development of Commerce between Europe and Asia

Pisa, on account of their convenient location, were called upon to furnish the crusaders with transportation and provisions, and their shrewd citizens made certain that such services were well rewarded. Italian ships, plying to and from the Holy Land, gradually enriched their owners. Many Italian cities profited, but Venice secured the major share. It was during the crusades that Venice gained immunities and privileges in Constantinople, and thereby laid the foundation of her maritime empire.

The crusades not only enabled Italian merchants to bring Eastern commodities to the West; they increased the demand for such commodities. Crusaders—knights, pilgrims, and adventurers—returned from the Holy Land with astonishing tales of the luxury and opulence of the East. Not infrequently they had acquired a taste for Eastern silks or spices during their stay in Asia Minor or Palestine; or they brought curious jewels stripped from fallen infidels to awaken the envy of the stay-at-homes. Wealth was increasing in Europe at this time, and the many well-to-do people who were eager to affect magnificence provided a ready market for the wares imported by Italian merchants.

It is desirable to note just what were these wares and why they were demanded so insistently. First were spices, far more important then than now. The diet of those times was simple and monotonous without our variety of vegetables and sauces and sweets, and the meat, if fresh, was likely to be tough in fibre and strong in flavor. Spices were the very thing to add zest to such a diet, and without them the epicure of the sixteenth century would have been truly miserable. Ale and wine, as well as meats, were spiced, and pepper was eaten separately as a delicacy. No wonder that, although the rich alone could buy it, the Venetians were able annually to dispose of 420,000 pounds of pepper, which they purchased from the sultan of Egypt, to whom it had been brought, after a hazardous journey, from the pepper vines of Ceylon, Sumatra, or western India. From the same regions came cinnamon-bark; ginger was a product of Arabia, India, and China; and nutmegs, cloves, and allspice grew only in the far-off Spice Islands of the Malay Archipelago.

Precious stones were then, as always, in demand for personal adornment as well as for the decoration of shrines and ecclesiastic-

tical vestments; and in the middle ages they were thought by many to possess magical qualities which rendered them doubly valuable.<sup>1</sup> The supply of diamonds, rubies, pearls, and other precious stones was then almost exclusively from Persia, India, and Ceylon.

Other miscellaneous products of the East were in great demand for various purposes: camphor and cubebs from Sumatra and Borneo; musk from China; cane-sugar from Arabia and Persia; indigo, sandal-wood, and aloes-wood from India; and alum from Asia Minor.

The East was not only a treasure-house of spices, jewels, and medicaments, but a factory of marvellously delicate goods and wares which the West could not rival—glass, porcelain, silks, satins, rugs, tapestries, and metal-work. The tradition of Asiatic supremacy in these manufactures has been preserved to our own day in such familiar names as damask linen, china-ware, japanned ware, Persian rugs, and cashmere shawls.

In exchange for the manifold products of the East, Europe had only rough woollen cloth, arsenic, antimony, quicksilver, tin, copper, lead, and coral to give; and a balance, therefore, always existed for the European merchant to pay in gold and silver, with the result that gold and silver coins grew scarce in the West. It is hard to say what would have happened had not a new supply of the precious metals been discovered in America. But we are anticipating our story.

It is a long way from western Europe to eastern Asia, and before the advent of steamship and railway the journey was painfully slow, particularly hazardous, and quite uncertain. In the year 1500 the assembling of Asiatic commodities for export to Europe was made principally by Arabs and other Moslem traders<sup>2</sup> on the coasts of the

Difficulties of Trade

<sup>1</sup> Medieval literature is full of this idea. Thus we read in the book of travel which has borne the name of Sir John Maundeville: "And if you wish to know the virtues of the diamond, I shall tell you, as they that are beyond the seas say and affirm, from whom all science and philosophy comes. He who carries the diamond upon him, it gives him hardiness and manhood, and it keeps the limbs of his body whole. It gives him victory over his enemies, in court and in war, if his cause be just; and it keeps him that bears it in good wit; and it keeps him from strife and riot, from sorrows and enchantments, and from fantasies and illusions of wicked spirits. . . . It heals him that is lunatic, and those whom the fiend torments or pursues."

<sup>2</sup> In general, the journey from the Far East to the ports on the Black Sea and

Black Sea and the eastern Mediterranean, and their transportation thence was mainly in the hands of the Italian city states, especially Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and Florence, although the French town of Marseilles and the Spanish town of Barcelona had a small share. From Italy trade routes led through the passes of the Alps to all parts of Europe.

Within Europe, commerce still encountered extraordinary difficulties in the year 1500. The roads were so wretched that wares had to be carried on pack-horses instead of in wagons. Frequently the merchant had to risk spoiling his bales of silk in fording a stream, for bridges were few and usually in urgent need of repair. Travel not only was fraught with hardship; it was expensive. Landowners exacted tolls from the traveller on road, bridge, or river within their estates, and so heavy was the burden of tolls on commerce that transportation from Nantes to Orléans, a short distance up the River Loire, doubled the price of goods. In addition to the tolls, the merchant had to pay tariffs and *octrois* and special market fees, and frequently was seriously handicapped by regulations against "foreigners" and by unfamiliar weights, measures, and coinage. Besides, robbers beset the roads and pirates infested the seas. Needy knights did not scruple to turn highwaymen, while the black flag of piracy flew over whole fleets in the Mediterranean and in the Baltic, and the amateur pirate, if less formidable, was no less common, for many a vessel carrying brass cannon, ostensibly for protection, found it convenient to use them against merchantmen and more often "took" a cargo than purchased one.

In spite of almost insuperable obstacles, commerce was notably expanding within Europe. Its leaders at the opening of the sixteenth century were the Italian city states, preëminently Venice; the league of German cities—the so-called Hanse, or Hanseatic League—including Lübeck, Hamburg, Bremen, Danzig, Königsberg, and Cologne; and the cities of the Netherlands, especially Bruges and Antwerp. Venice was the outstanding distributing centre for Asiatic wares.

**Develop-  
ment of  
Commerce  
within  
Europe**

the eastern Mediterranean was made by caravans which travelled overland or by sailing vessels which skirted the coasts of the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea. It was made most often by Moslems, but some of the more enterprising Italian merchants pushed eastward from their settlements, or *fondachi*, in frontier ports like Cairo and Trebizond, and established *fondachi* in inland cities of Asia Minor, Persia, and Russia.

The Hanseatic trading post at Venice received metals, furs, leather goods, and woollen cloth from northern and western Europe, and sent back spices, silks, and other commodities of the Orient, together with glassware, fine textiles, weapons, and paper of Venetian manufacture. Baltic and Venetian trade routes crossed in the Netherlands, and during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Bruges was the trade metropolis of western Europe, where met the raw wool from England and Spain, the manufactured woollen cloth of Flanders, claret wine from France, sherry and port wines from the Iberian peninsula, pitch from Sweden, tallow from Norway, grain from France and Germany, and tin from England, not to mention Asiatic luxuries, Venetian manufactures, and the cunning carved-work of south-German artificers.

By the year 1500, these urban centres were beginning to show themselves unequal to the demands of expanding European trade. Venice and the other Italian city states were too quarrelsome and too much given to strife with one another to assure the needful protection of common commercial interests abroad, and the privileged position of Venice in the Mediterranean and the Near East was threatened by the advance of the Ottoman Turks. Simultaneously the Hanseatic League was weakened by internal dissensions, by the decline of the Holy Roman Empire, and by the rise of hostile Slavic states in eastern Europe. The towns of the Netherlands alone displayed enduring commercial vitality, and it was clear, as they became consolidated under the dukes of Burgundy in the fifteenth century and under the princes of the Habsburg family in the sixteenth century, that the centre of gravity in European trade and industry was gradually shifting from the Mediterranean and Baltic to the Atlantic seaboard.

Shift of  
Commer-  
cial  
Centres  
from  
Mediterranean to  
Atlantic

This shift was accompanied and undoubtedly hastened by the development of strong national monarchies in western Europe. The national monarchies along the Atlantic, as we have seen, were repressing feudalism and favoring the bourgeoisie, and by virtue of territorial expansion and centralized government they were in a better position than the isolated city states of Italy or the disintegrating Holy Roman Empire to protect and expand the commerce of their bourgeois citizens—to punish pirates or

highwaymen, to maintain roads, and to check the exactions of toll collectors. The national states gave promise of supplanting the city states as the guarantors and promoters of modern trade and industry.

### 3. THE OVERSEAS EXPLORATIONS

Throughout all recorded history down to modern times, peoples who lived in one part of the world knew comparatively little about peoples in other parts of the world. **Hitherto Separated Civilizations** Ancient Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans were not very familiar with China or Japan and were totally ignorant of America. Ancient Chinese had only the vaguest knowledge of Europeans, and for the medieval inhabitants of America the Old World did not exist.

In time, different parts of the world became seats of separate and peculiar civilizations. (1) Europe, the so-called "West," became the home of Christian civilization, that is, "Christendom." (2) Northern Africa and western Asia, including the "Near East" and "Middle East," became the region of Moslem civilization, that is, "Islam." (3) Eastern Asia, the so-called "Far East," became the area of Confucian-Buddhist Chinese civilization. (4) India, cut off by mountain ranges and deserts from the Far East and the Middle East, evolved a distinctive Hindu civilization. (5) America, the "Far West," isolated by trackless oceans, became the seat of several cultures, ranging from that of the highly developed Mayas, Aztecs, and Incas to that of the backward Caribs and various pastoral and hunting tribes. (6) Central Asia, with its Mongol nomads, and (7) central and southern Africa, with its negro groups, and (8) the numerous islands of the Pacific, with their brown-skinned natives, remained apart and in primitive but different conditions.

Among peoples within some of these areas, particularly within each of the first four, there was a certain amount of intercourse and mutual knowledge. Between some of the areas, moreover, there were historic contacts of considerable importance. In ancient times Greek armies of Alexander the Great and Greek traders had penetrated into India, and Roman merchants had imported silk from China. Subsequently the expansion of Islam had carried Moslem conquerors into India and brought India into closer commercial relations with the Middle East and Near

East. India had also had significant contacts with China: Buddhism had spread from India to China, and traders had frequently travelled between these two countries. Between the area of Islam and that of Christendom, there had been since the most ancient times an intercourse which the medieval crusades quickened rather than stopped.

Nevertheless, prior to the sixteenth century, the peoples of all these major cultural areas were essentially self-centred and exclusive; there was no such thing or thought as that of "world civilization." Each branch of the human race lived primarily to itself, more or less in ignorance of the others.

It is a curious and impressive fact that all parts of the world have been brought into close contact with one another only since the sixteenth century. It is even more curious and impressive that the great explorations and discoveries which made such wide contacts possible should have been undertaken and achieved in modern times, not by Chinese or Hindus or Moslems or Aztecs, but by Europeans. The history of the rise of a "world civilization" is the history of the modern "expansion of Europe."

Why did Europeans explore and discover? Why has the modern world been largely Europeanized, instead of being Asiaticized? No simple answers to such fundamental questions can be entirely satisfactory, but perhaps two major considerations will help to explain why the modern age of world-wide explorations and discoveries originated in Europe. One reason is economic, and the other is religious.

In the first place, Europeans went in search of other parts of the earth because, for economic purposes, they had greater need of the rest of the world than the rest of the world had of Europe. Europe is the smallest of the five great continents and has usually been dependent upon other continents for products of one kind or another. Her fertile farm-lands, to be sure, have long produced enough grain, fruit, vegetables, cattle, sheep, and poultry to feed a large population, besides flax and wool for clothing, although at present part of the food supply is imported, as it was in the days of ancient Greece and Rome. Europe, moreover, has timber and stone for building materials, and valuable mines of coal, iron, copper, silver, and tin. But for some commodities Europe has depended on other continents from very early times. Many

Economic  
Aspects of  
European  
Expansion

articles are not produced in Europe at all—for instance, spices, certain drugs, certain woods, and cotton; and others are not produced in sufficient quantity—silk, gold, silver, and precious stones. In early times Europe obtained such commodities chiefly from Asia and Africa.

In the early middle ages, with the decay of the Roman Empire, with the coming of the Arabs in western Asia and northern Africa and of the “dark age” in western Europe, the supply of Asiatic and African luxuries had been lessened and simultaneously the demand for them in Europe had been decreased. This had been only temporary, however. The Arabs themselves were not only Moslems but also traders, and they speedily developed important commercial relations with India and the Far East. In Europe, too, the “dark age” was succeeded by the heightening culture of the later middle ages and a consequent renewal of the demand for luxury imports. Therefore, Europeans, especially Italians of Venice and Genoa, plied an ever greater and more lucrative trade with the Arabs. Not even difference of religion, not even the crusades, prevented Christian Italians from dealing with Moslem Arabs. Indeed, it was the crusades, as we have seen, which enormously increased the demand of Europeans for Asiatic commodities.

By the fifteenth century the demand was outstripping the supply. The supply was always a bit uncertain, for it depended, first on the Italians, then on the Moslems, and finally on a slow, dangerous, and expensive transit by boat and caravan from the Far East. With the advance of the Ottoman Turks and their conquest of the Near East, the Italian cities lost many of their commercial outposts, the Moslems did more fighting than trading, and the long transit by caravan and boat became doubly hazardous. As the supply of Far Eastern wares grew more uncertain and unsatisfactory, the mounting demand for them set many Europeans, especially western Europeans—Portuguese and Spaniards and Netherlanders and Frenchmen and Englishmen—to thinking how they might go direct to places where gold, spices, and silk abounded, without being obliged to employ Italians and Moslems as middlemen.

Now it so happened that these thoughts were taking shape in the minds of merchants and receiving encouragement from ambitious national monarchs of western Europe at the very time when

Christian priests and monks were ready and anxious to extend their missionary activity outside of Europe. This brings us to the second, the religious, reason why Europe discovered the world.

Christianity has always been one of the most intensely missionary religions which the world has known. In its first four hundred years it had converted the Græco-Roman Empire and transformed the civilization of southern Europe. During the next eight centuries its missionaries had converted and civilized all the barbarians in central and northern Europe and carried the gospel to Iceland and Greenland. From the twelfth to the fifteenth century thousands of peaceful monks as well as thousands of warlike crusaders had striven to wrest the Near East from Islam.

Religious Aspects of European Expansion

By the fifteenth century Christian missionaries had traversed all Europe and were turning more and more toward Asia and Africa. It was the very time when merchants were doing likewise. The result was that merchants and missionaries went out from Europe together, and together they travelled to the uttermost parts of the world.

The demands of trade and the demands of religion, then, go far to explain why a revolutionary expansion of Europe occurred in the sixteenth century. But the necessary explorations and discoveries could be made only if Europeans possessed considerable knowledge of geography and navigation. Such knowledge they had been acquiring, in fact, during the later middle ages, partly from practical experience and partly from Arab instruction. Christian embassies had been despatched by pope or French king to the Mongol khan of central Asia in the thirteenth century (that of John of Plano Carpini and that of William of Rubruquis), and in the same century three members of a Venetian family, Polo by name, had travelled to China and one of them, the famous Marco Polo, had sojourned there some seventeen years. Besides, a zealous monk, John of Monte Corvino, after laboring among Mongols in Persia and founding Christian missions near Madras in India, had sailed to China and settled in Peking; in 1307 the pope had appointed him archbishop of the Chinese capital and supplied him with missionary assistants; and several Italian traders had speedily followed him to the Far East. All these undertakings of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had

Preparations for European Expansion

proved temporary, but they had produced several valuable travel-books, such as the narrative of Marco Polo which was read with unfailing interest by many later Europeans, including Christopher Columbus. In this way was spread among the peoples of Europe some fascinating information about China—which was then called “Cathay”—and also about the “Indies,” along with an ambition to see for themselves such far-off strange lands and to participate in what was represented as the fabulous wealth of the Far East. If Europeans could no longer travel thither by land in safety, then they must find new water routes to the Indies and to Cathay.

In the meantime, Europeans were gaining better knowledge of geography and surer means of navigation. Earlier popular notions that the waters of the tropics boiled, that demons and sea-monsters awaited explorers to the westward, and that the earth was a great flat disk, were not now entertained by the educated. On the contrary, learned men were asserting that the earth was spherical in shape, and were even calculating its circumference. It was asserted that the Indies formed the western coast of the Atlantic Ocean, and that consequently the Far East might be reached by sailing due west, as well as by travelling eastward, though it was usually maintained that the Atlantic was very vast and that shorter sea routes to the Indies and Cathay might be found northeast of Europe, or southward around Africa.

Moreover, European sailors of the fifteenth century had learned a good deal about navigation. The compass had been used by Italian navigators in the thirteenth century and mounted on the compass card in the fourteenth. Latitude was determined with the aid of the astrolabe, a device for measuring the elevation of the pole star above the horizon. Sailing charts and maps (*portolani*) were now available. With all these aids, seamen could lose sight of land and still feel confident of their whereabouts. Yet it undoubtedly took courage, as well as the lure of fame and fortune, for captains of that age to steer their frail sailing vessels either down the unexplored African coast or across the uncharted Atlantic Ocean.

On the eve of the sixteenth century Europe had at last the twofold incentive of trade and religion and also the practical knowledge and instruments—and resolution—for undertaking

distant explorations and discoveries, with such permanent and astounding results as had never before been witnessed or imagined in the whole history of the world. And though it was experienced Italian sailors who were the most conspicuous agents, it was the newer national states of western Europe, rather than the older city states of Italy, which sponsored the revolutionary exploits.

First and foremost among the sponsors of Europe's expansion was Portugal. The Portuguese, in the extreme southwestern corner of Europe, had an ambitious national monarchy. They were already crossing the straits of Gibraltar and fighting the Moslem Moors and conquering the Atlantic seaboard of Africa to the south of them.

Portuguese Explorations and Discoveries

Why should they not continue farther south and by water? They did not know much about the continent of Africa as a whole; they imagined it was big and dangerous; and yet they dreamed that by sailing some distance south along its western coast they could presently round its southernmost point and thence proceed eastward by an all-water route to India and China. The dream, if realized, would free them from economic subservience to Italian cities and Moslem caravans.

To carry this dream into effect was the life ambition of a prince of the Portuguese royal family—Prince Henry, commonly styled Henry the Navigator (1394–1460). Prince Henry the Navigator

Prince Henry was not really a navigator himself, but he set his heart upon systematic testing of current geographical theories, in the hope that thereby the Christian religion might be spread and that his nation might enlarge its territories and increase its resources. He established a school for navigators in Portugal. To it he attracted the most skillful Italian sailors and the most learned geographers of the day; and from it he sent out year after year naval expeditions of fighting men and merchants and missionaries who rediscovered and colonized the Madeira and Azores Islands and crept farther and farther southward along the coast of the African continent. The continent proved to be much bigger than Prince Henry had guessed, and when he died in 1460 the Portuguese had explored only the northern half of the west coast. But the impulse given by Prince Henry produced significant results after his death.

In the year 1488 a Portuguese captain, Bartholomew Diaz, reached Africa's southernmost point, which he appropriately

named the "Cape of Storms." When Diaz returned and reported his discovery, King John II of Portugal rechristened it, with even superior appropriateness, the "Cape of Good Hope." For, following in the wake of Diaz, another Portuguese captain,

**Vasco da Gama** Vasco da Gama, rounded the Cape in 1497, and, continuing on his way, sailed north along the eastern coast to Malindi, where he found an Arab pilot who guided his course across the Indian Ocean to India. In India, at Calicut, Gama landed in May, 1498, and erected a marble pillar as a memorial of his discovery of a new route from Europe to the Far East. Incidentally, it should be remarked that this Portuguese captain sailed back from Calicut to Lisbon in 1499 with a cargo of goods worth sixty times the cost of his expedition.

From the beginning of the sixteenth century Portuguese ships sailed regularly to the Far East by way of the Cape of Good Hope and returned laden with spices, silks, and precious stones. With Portuguese merchants went out Christian missionaries, who established themselves in India, particularly at the town of Goa. Under the auspices of a royal governor, or viceroy, whom the king of Portugal despatched to India to look after the trading posts and interests of the Portuguese, both merchants and missionaries speedily extended their explorations and secured additional footholds in the Far East.

Portuguese merchants established posts in Ceylon, Sumatra, Java, and the Spice Islands; in 1517 they arrived at Canton, in China; and in 1542 they entered Japan. A celebrated missionary, Francis Xavier, followed them, preaching Christianity with considerable success in India and Japan, so that by the close of the sixteenth century there were 200,000 Christians in Japan and more in India. Though these gains to Christianity were not entirely permanent, and though Portuguese commercial supremacy proved only temporary, nevertheless since the sixteenth century contact between Europe and the Far East has been direct and unbroken.

**Spanish Explorations and Discoveries** Under the patronage of Portuguese monarchs one new and profitable route had been found to the "Indies." Under the patronage of Spanish monarchs another such route was sought. In this case, the idea was developed and pressed by an Italian captain, Christopher Columbus (1446?-1506).

Columbus, a native of the city state of Genoa, was a sailor all his life and was greatly interested in the science as well as in the art of navigation, and likewise in geographical lore. He shared the conviction of learned men of his day that the world was a sphere and that Asia lay to the west of Europe. Fairly early he became obsessed with the idea that he would find a new route to India and China by sailing westward across the Atlantic. After gaining much maritime experience in the Mediterranean and in the waters around the British Isles, he entered the service of King John II of Portugal and besought this monarch to finance him in his trans-Atlantic venture. But the Portuguese were too absorbed in their rival route around Africa, and Columbus then turned to Spain for financial assistance. Here, after vexatious delays and discouragements and after preparations to present his scheme to the king of France or the king of England, he finally obtained the aid of the Spanish queen, Isabella of Castile, who at this very time, with her husband, Ferdinand of Aragon, was creating the united Spanish monarchy and subjugating the last stronghold of the Moslems in Spain (January, 1492).

In August, 1492, Columbus sailed from the Spanish port of Palos with eighty-seven men in three small ships (the largest of which weighed only a hundred tons) and with a letter of introduction to the "great khan of Cathay." Week after week he sailed westward; his men lost faith and grew mutinous; but he still persevered. At length, on 12 October, 1492, land was discovered. Columbus disembarked, gave thanks to God, and claimed the land for the crown of Castile. Had he been told that he was discovering America, a new and hitherto unknown world, he would have been vastly astonished. Little did he dream that the land on which he had disembarked was one of the Bahamas,<sup>1</sup> many thousands of miles from India and China. He believed he had reached an island just off the coast of Asia. After cruising about among other islands (which we now know were the Caribbean islands) and finding that they were inhabited by a strange people, he returned to Spain in 1493 and reported to Ferdinand and Isabella that he had discovered the Indies.

<sup>1</sup> The island on which he first landed he named San Salvador. It is generally identified with the island in the Bahamas now known as Watling Island.

Three times Columbus went back to the scene of his discoveries, carrying merchants and missionaries, adventurers and colonists, and searching ever for the realm of Japan, the empire of China, the wealth of India, and the islands where spices grow. But he found little gold and no spices or silks, and the coasts he explored were the Caribbean shores of America, rather than the eastern shores of Asia and the real Indies. The strange people whom he encountered and made friends with were primitive Caribs and not the civilized inhabitants of China and India. Yet Columbus called them "Indians," and the name "Indian" has stuck to the natives of the American continents ever since.

Columbus may not have been the first European to cross the Atlantic Ocean,<sup>1</sup> but he deserves full credit as the discoverer, if not of a new route to the Indies, at least of a new world. For, from the time of his first voyage, on the eve of the sixteenth century, contact between Europe and America has been constant and intimate.

Columbus's first voyage of discovery was quickly followed by famous voyages of other explorers. In 1497, for instance, John Cabot Cabot, another Italian sailor from Genoa, was commissioned by King Henry VII of England "to seek out, discover, and find whatsoever isles, countries, regions, or provinces of the heathen and infidels, which before this time have been unknown to all Christians." Cabot crossed the Atlantic from Bristol to Cape Breton Island and reported back in the same year that he too had reached the country of the "great khan."

In 1500, to mention another instance, a Portuguese fleet, captained by Pedro Cabral and bound for India by way of the Cabral Cape of Good Hope, was driven westward by strong winds and currents across the narrowest stretch of the Atlantic to the easternmost part of South America. Cabral

<sup>1</sup> Scandinavians, back in the tenth and eleventh centuries, had sailed westward and had discovered and planted colonies in Greenland and in a region which they called Vinland. Vinland was almost certainly in North America, but the mass of Europeans knew nothing about it; the early Scandinavian settlement soon disappeared, and its memory was retained only in some sagas. There were medieval legends, moreover, to the effect that an Irish expedition had sailed westward and discovered a certain St. Brandon's Isle and that the ancients had known of an "Atlantis" or an "Antilia" in the western Atlantic; with these legends Columbus was familiar.

landed, named the region "Brazil," and proclaimed it a dependency of Portugal.

Gradually the truth dawned upon the peoples of Europe that the lands across the Atlantic were not Asia but a new world. In 1503 an Italian adventurer named Amerigo (in Latin, *Americus*) Vespucci, a native of Florence and then sojourning in Spain and Portugal as an agent for the Medici, the Florentine bankers, wrote a widely read "letter" in which he claimed to have discovered the "new world" himself. Four years later a German professor in a geographical treatise suggested that the newly discovered "fourth part of the world" should be called "America, because *Americus* discovered it." The suggestion was acted upon; and thus the Far West, already mistakenly peopled with "Indians," was permanently saddled with the name "America," derived from its pretended rather than from its true discoverer.

For some time it was imagined that "America" was not far from Asia. In 1513 a Spanish explorer, Balboa, hearing from natives of Central America that a huge body of water lay to the westward, crossed the isthmus of Panama and discovered what he called the "Great South Sea" but what we know as the Pacific Ocean. In 1519 a Portuguese captain, Ferdinand Magellan, taking service under the king of Spain, left Seville with a fleet of five vessels to explore the whole western route, not only from Europe to America, but from America to Asia. Magellan crossed the Atlantic, sailed around South America and through the straits which still bear his name. Thence he ploughed a weary way across the vast expanse of the ocean to which he gave the flattering title of "Pacific," taking ninety-eight days from Tierra del Fuego to the island of Guam and another seven days to an archipelago which he named St. Lazarus but which was subsequently christened the Philippines. Magellan himself was killed in the Philippines, but one of his vessels, following the Portuguese trade route across the Indian Ocean and around Africa, arrived finally at Seville in 1522 with the tale of the marvellous voyage. It was the first circumnavigation of the globe. Columbus had discovered America, but Magellan had discovered the western sea route from Europe to Asia.

During the first half of the sixteenth century, while the Por-

tuguese were developing and exploiting their newly found eastern route to India and China and the Spice Islands, explorations and discoveries went on apace in and about the American continents. Spanish fortune-hunters, captains, and missionaries did most; they explored the Caribbean islands, Florida, Mexico, Central America, and the greater part of South America. But Frenchmen soon participated. In 1524 King Francis I of France sponsored an expedition of an Italian captain, John Verrazano, who explored the coasts of Nova Scotia and New England and may have discovered New York harbor; and ten years later the same French king sent out one of his own countrymen, Jacques Cartier, to continue the work of Verazzano and to find, if possible, a "northwest passage" to Asia around the northern shore of America. Cartier discovered no such passage but he explored the St. Lawrence River as far as the site of Montreal.

By the middle of the sixteenth century Europeans had considerable knowledge of the size and shape of the world, of the general location of the oceans and major continents, and of two great new trade routes by sea, the eastern route around Africa to Asia and the western route to America. European commerce was undergoing a veritable revolution throughout the world.

#### 4. THE NEW COLONIAL EMPIRES

The sponsors of the world expansion of Europe were national monarchies, and foremost among these, in the second half of the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth, were Portugal and Spain. As early as 1480 the pope as arbiter of the Papal Line of Demarcation between Portugal and Spain had granted to Portugal a monopoly of trade, colonization, and political dominion in "heathen lands" from the western coast of Africa to the East Indies. Then, in 1493, immediately after Columbus's first voyage, another pope, while confirming Portugal's rights east of a "line of demarcation" drawn from the north pole to the south pole, one hundred leagues west of the Azores, had conferred upon Spain a similar monopoly west of the line.<sup>1</sup> Thus, in a general way, Africa and Asia and the eastern part of

<sup>1</sup> Portugal protested, and in 1494, by mutual agreement between Portugal and Spain, the papal line of demarcation was shifted two hundred and seventy leagues farther west.

South America (Brazil) were handed over to Portugal, and North America and most of South America to Spain.

The overseas empire which the Portuguese proceeded to establish within their hemisphere was more commercial than colonial. In 1505 the king of Portugal named a "viceroy" to govern the Indies, and one of the most famous of the Portuguese viceroys, Alfonso Albuquerque, taking advantage of conflicts among the natives of India, obtained and built up the city of Goa as the capital of the Portuguese empire in the East (1510). Albuquerque also appropriated Cochin and other coast towns in India and captured the strategic port of Ormuz in the Persian Gulf. Under him and his successors, a considerable number of colonists came out from Portugal, settled at Goa and along the Malabar coast of India, intermarried with the natives, and introduced Portuguese speech and customs in the Far East. Under the patronage of the viceroys, moreover, Portuguese priests and monks gained some converts to Christianity, and incidentally opened doors to Portuguese merchants, in China, Japan, and the Malay archipelago, as well as in India. In the main, however, Portugal could not colonize Asia or transform its civilization.

The Commercial Empire of Portugal

Asia was too large and too populous and too tenacious of its own cultures. Portugal was too small and its resources in men and money were limited. The Moslems in western Asia and India were consistently hostile to the Portuguese, and the size and solidity of the states in eastern Asia safeguarded them against military conquest by the Portuguese. In China, the Portuguese, arriving at Canton in 1517, were content to trade peacefully; and beyond colonizing the island of Macao, near Canton, they did not encroach upon the territory or independence of the Chinese Empire. Similarly, in Japan, the Portuguese established a trading post in 1542 and patronized the preaching of Christianity by Francis Xavier and his associates, but they did not seriously attempt the political subjugation of the island empire. It was likewise in the Malay archipelago; the Portuguese traded with the natives of Sumatra, Java, and the Spice Islands, but did not conquer or dispossess them.

During the sixteenth century the Portuguese were very active in Asia, if not in colonizing endeavor, at least in commercial enterprise. They reaped rich financial profits from their Eastern

trade, and for a time Lisbon became the commercial capital of Europe. But the Portuguese had to contend not only with latent hostility of Asiatics but also with mounting jealousy and rival ambition of other European nations. For other Europeans, envious of the wealth which was accumulating to Portugal from her monopoly of Asiatic trade, refused to respect the papal decision which had conferred that monopoly upon her. Particularly the Dutch began to send out expeditions to Asia, which openly attacked Portuguese merchantmen and warships and which intrigued with native rulers to undermine Portuguese influence and prestige. Even Spain did not adhere strictly to the terms of her treaty with Portugal but appropriated for herself the Philippine Islands, which actually lay within the Portuguese hemisphere.

In the meantime, the Portuguese were establishing posts on the African coast, notably at Mozambique in 1520 and at São Paulo de Loanda in 1576, and a protectorate over the inland Christian kingdom of Abyssinia. The shore posts they used as stopping and replenishing stations on their voyages between Europe and Asia and also as centres for local traffic in gold, ivory, and especially negro slaves. The Portuguese, however, never penetrated very far inland; and their holdings on the coast were gradually contracted by the conquests of Moslems and of rival Europeans. They were expelled from Abyssinia in 1663.

Only in Brazil did the Portuguese succeed in erecting a permanent colonial empire. Here they easily overcame the resistance of weak and primitive Indian tribes and managed to frustrate rival colonizing schemes of Frenchmen and Spaniards. Portuguese colonists came in considerable numbers under "captains" appointed by the king and endowed by him with grants of land and large powers. Settlements were made in the first half of the sixteenth century, including São Paulo, in the south, and Pernambuco and Bahia, in the north. With the settlers came Christian missionaries, and the first bishop of Brazil arrived in 1552. In 1549 the "captains" were subjected to a governor-general who, from the capital city of Bahia, administered the whole country in the name of the king of Portugal. Rio de Janeiro, the site of which had been discovered and named by a Portuguese explorer in 1531, was settled first by a French expedition in 1558 but was

conquered in 1567 by the Portuguese and incorporated in their Brazilian empire.

Indeed, the success of Portugal's efforts in Brazil illustrated the great superiority of America over Asia as a field of European colonization. And most of America lay, in the sixteenth century, in the hemisphere which the pope had allotted to Spain. Consequently, while Portugal's overseas empire was predominantly commercial, that of Spain was essentially colonial.

The Colonial Empire of Spain

In the time of Columbus the greater part of America was sparsely inhabited by primitive tribes of "redmen" or "Indians," who were not very different in customs and manners from the primitive European tribes of an earlier day who had invaded the ancient Roman Empire and had been converted to Christianity. These Indian tribes received the European discoverers and explorers sometimes with friendliness and sometimes with hostility. Some of them were easily tamed by the more civilized invaders and immigrants, and others were warred against and subdued with mutual cruelty. But the outstanding fact about the contact of Europe with America was that discovery and exploration were quickly followed by conquest of the Indians and colonization by Europeans.

The first Spanish colony in the New World was on the island of San Domingo, called Hispaniola ("Spanish Isle"), and thence Spanish conquest and colonization were rapidly extended over the other Caribbean islands and the adjacent mainland from Florida to Venezuela. In Mexico and Peru the Spaniards encountered native states and peoples in a relatively high stage of civilization; but these, like the more primitive Caribs, were quickly subjugated.

The story of the conquest of the Mexican empire of the Aztec Indians by Cortez, for example, reads like a romance. Hernando Cortez was still a young man when he landed on the coast of Mexico in 1519 with an expedition of ten ships, six or seven hundred Spanish soldiers, eighteen horses, and a few pieces of cannon—an expedition absurdly inadequate, we might suppose, for the conquest of an extensive and seemingly powerful empire. But the natives whom Cortez first met were astounded and overawed by sound of cannon and sight of horses and ocean-going ships, all new objects to them; they thought Cortez was

a god and they offered little or no resistance to him. He himself was courageous and quite unscrupulous. He seized land and laid the foundations for the city of Vera Cruz, and then, having burned his ships in order to cut off the possibility of retreat, he marched his little army into the interior. He was aided by the internal condition of the Aztec Empire; the empire was in decline and the Emperor Montezuma was harassed by rebellious chieftains (called "caciques") who defied his authority and some of whom gave assistance to the Spaniards. After some fighting, Cortez, with his handful of Spaniards and with 6,000 native allies, reached Mexico City and was received by Montezuma with pomp and outward show of friendship. Soon, however, Montezuma ordered the killing of a few obstreperous Spaniards at Vera Cruz, and then Cortez struck. He seized and imprisoned the hapless emperor and extorted from him the recognition of the sovereignty of Spain and the payment of 600,000 marks of pure gold and a prodigious quantity of precious stones. Mexicans rose in revolt, killed Montezuma as the dupe of the Spaniards, chose a new emperor, and gave battle to Cortez in the plain of Otumba. Here the fate of the Aztec realm was sealed (1520). Cortez won an overwhelming victory, which he followed up by retaking Mexico City and establishing Spanish authority throughout the country.

What Cortez achieved in Mexico was paralleled in Peru by Francisco Pizarro, another Spanish soldier of fortune. Pizarro had accompanied Balboa in the discovery of the Pacific Ocean and had been fascinated by the tales he heard of the empire of the Indian Incas in Peru. In 1531 he set out from Panama with three ships, 180 men, and twenty-seven horses for the conquest and looting of the Inca country. And, thanks to his valor and cunning, the magnificent native town of Cuzco was captured and the Indians were subjugated. It was Pizarro who founded the city of Lima in 1535 as the capital of the Spanish Empire in South America. In Peru, as in Mexico, the conquerors enriched themselves with enormous treasures of gold and silver and jewels, with rich mines and vast estates.

The easily acquired wealth from Peru acted as an immediate lure to Spanish adventurers and colonists, who were soon appropriating other parts of South America. A nobleman, Pedro de Mendoza, obtaining from the king of Spain a grant of land

on the southeastern coast of South America, laid the foundations of the future states of Argentina and Paraguay; he founded Buenos Aires in 1535, and Asuncion in 1536. A lieutenant of Pizarro seized the Chilean coast and in 1541 founded Santiago de Chile. Another lieutenant carved out the province of Ecuador and in 1535 founded the town of Guayaquil on the finest harbor of the Pacific coast. In 1538 the mountainous interior of north-western South America—the country of Colombia—was penetrated, and on a lofty and picturesque site the city of Bogotá was founded. Wherever the Spaniards settled, they established their language and religion, and engaged in mining, trade, cattle ranching, and extensive production of sugar and grain.

By 1575 the Spanish population in the New World was 32,000 families, or approximately 175,000 persons, of whom about five eighths were settled in the West Indies and Mexico and about three eighths in South America. Some five million Indians, 40,000 negro slaves, and a considerable number of mulattoes and half-breeds were subject to them. By this time the whole Spanish colonial empire was divided, for administrative purposes, into two viceroyalties, New Spain and Peru. The viceroy of New Spain supervised Mexico, the West Indies, Central America, northern South America, and the Philippines; the viceroy of Peru superintended Peru, Chile, Ecuador, and Argentina. By this time, too, the empire was divided for ecclesiastical purposes into dioceses, and bands of priests and monks, under official patronage, and with marked success, were preaching Christianity to the natives. Universities, after the European fashion, were established in 1551 at Lima and Mexico City. America was being Europeanized under Spanish auspices.

It was under Spanish auspices, moreover, that the archipelago off the southeast coast of Asia—that of the Philippines—was permanently Christianized and Europeanized. These islands, as we have seen, were visited by Magellan in 1521. In 1542 they were formally annexed to Spain and named the Philippine Islands in honor of the crown-prince who later became King Philip II. In 1571 the city of Manila was founded as the capital. The native Filipinos were not so numerous or so civilized as the Hindus, Chinese, and Japanese; they submitted to Spanish governors, learned the Spanish language, and were converted to Christianity. The Christian Filipinos of the present day stand

unique as the only Asiatic nationality who have been thoroughly Europeanized.

Despite the sensational lootings of Mexico and Peru by Cortez and Pizarro, despite certain other minor findings of treasure trove, no such steady stream of wealth flowed to Spain from her colonial empire in the western hemisphere as flowed to Portugal from her commercial monopoly of the eastern hemisphere. Much greater and more lasting profits could be derived from trade in the East than from conquest in the West. Consequently it was not alone the Dutch but the Spaniards too who envied the Portuguese empire. And in 1580, on the death of the last male heir of the Portuguese royal family, King Philip II of Spain, as next in descent through a female line, became king of Portugal and joined with the colonial empire of the Spaniards the commercial empire of the Portuguese. Thenceforth, for sixty years, Spain had a nominal monopoly of European trade and colonization in the non-European world.

In practice, however, the union of Spain and Portugal and their overseas dominions weakened, rather than strengthened, the monopoly. The Dutch, theoretically subject to the Spanish crown, were now in revolt against it, and their sailors and merchants, intent upon particular objects, while the Spanish king was endeavoring to police the whole world, were able to dispossess the Portuguese in Asia and secure for themselves the bulk of the Eastern trade. It was not long before Dutchmen, and Frenchmen and Englishmen also, were poaching on Spanish preserves and planting colonies in the New World. Thus it transpired that the expansion of Europe and the establishment of overseas colonial empires under Portuguese and Spanish auspices in the sixteenth century gave rise in the seventeenth century to acute rivalry on the part of the nations of western Europe for colonial and commercial supremacy throughout the world.<sup>1</sup>

##### 5. RISE OF MODERN CAPITALISM

A most significant effect of the expansion of Europe in the sixteenth century was the stimulus it gave to the rise of capitalism in Europe. For capitalism has been the economic characteristic of distinctively modern civilization.

<sup>1</sup> Concerning these later developments, see below, ch. ix, sec. 1.

"Capitalism" has been defined "as the organization of business upon a large scale by an employer or company of employers possessing an accumulated stock of wealth wherewith to acquire raw materials and tools, and hire labor, so as to produce an increased quantity of wealth which shall constitute profit."<sup>1</sup> To some extent capitalism had existed in ancient times among Greeks and Romans, but it had disappeared with the disruption of the Roman Empire, and during the early middle ages the economy of Europe was not capitalistic. Each small community was relatively self-sufficient. There was no large-scale production of goods. What was produced was consumed and not accumulated or "saved." Agriculture, through the manorial system, and industry and trade, through the guild system, were coöperative. There was no sharp distinction between employers and labor. "Profit" was frowned upon, and the taking of "interest" for the use of capital was condemned by the Christian church as "usury." Economic circumstances were fortified by moral scruples, and the resulting situation was unfavorable to the rise of capitalism.

Yet, toward the close of the middle ages, a gradual and almost imperceptible change took place in Europe. The crusades, the growth and extension of commerce, the development of cities, the consolidation of national monarchy, all these, and doubtless other factors, contributed to the change. By the opening of the sixteenth century, as we have already observed, both the manorial system and the guild system were in decline. Landlords, instead of exacting personal services and payments in kind from their serfs and tenants, were beginning to receive money rents from free tenants and to hire agricultural laborers. The merchant guilds were becoming exclusive and aristocratic. The craft guilds were facing competition from manufacturers outside of the guild system, and many a journeyman, instead of rising to the status of master craftsman, was sinking into the position of hired laborer. Above all, the desire for extending financial profits was emerging with telling effect. Not alone Jews were lending money at interest—they had long done so on a small scale and had been suffered to do so as a hopelessly mean and depraved race—but Christians were beginning to do likewise and Christian theologians were arguing whether the faithful were not justified in

<sup>1</sup> J. A. Hobson, *Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, p. 1.

charging interest (as distinguished from usury) on loans for profitable enterprises and for monarchical and papal needs.

It was in the towns that the new capitalistic spirit was most in evidence. Certain guildsmen managed to accumulate personal wealth by rendering their guilds more exclusive, by exploiting their journeymen and apprentices, and by catering to a wider market. To the towns, moreover, came persons who were not connected with the traditional guilds and who utilized their independence to amass private fortunes. Such were members of the landed nobility, who, with the growth of a softer, more luxurious habit of life, settled in the towns, bringing with them their manorial rent-rolls and buying city lands and participating in commercial enterprises. Such, too, were officials of state or church—chancellors, marshals, collectors and “farmers” of taxes, managers of lay or ecclesiastical estates—who occupied lucrative posts and invested their surplus in urban undertakings. All these groups put “savings,” that is, “capital,” in the extension of trade, and as trade extended, the cities grew. And as the cities grew, the value of city land increased, and its owners could add an “unearned increment” to their capital.

The Italian cities, as we have noticed, profited most from the expansion of commerce during and immediately following the crusades, and it was in the Italian cities that a great

**Italian Banking: the Medici** agency of modern capitalism, banking, was first fashioned. Especially in Florence, certain families made a regular practice of caring for the savings of their fellow townsmen and enriching themselves as well as their clients by loaning portions of the accumulation at good interest to kings and popes for the upkeep of armies, for the execution of public works, or for mere ostentation, and by lending other portions to Venetian or Genoese merchants for more solid but hardly less costly commercial ventures. The most celebrated of the Florentine banking families was the Medici, springing from an obscure fourteenth-century guildsman, and becoming in the fifteenth century wealthy and very influential. The Medici typified in the year 1500 the new capitalist class, the banking magnates who treated money as a commodity like wool or wine, who were anxiously waited upon alike by investors and borrowers, who were sought after by all manner of potentates, who patronized art and learning, and who “bossed” their communities.

Florentine banking houses established branches in other parts of Europe, and independent banking developed in Venice, Genoa, and elsewhere. But the coat of arms of the Medici—red balls on a field of gold—became the general insignia of money-lenders, the badge of the new capitalism.

Nevertheless, capitalism of the Medicean variety of 1500 could hardly have evolved into the gigantic capitalism of the present day if its foundations had remained exclusively or chiefly European. Europe supplied no adequate output of gold or silver. The agricultural population of Europe afforded no increase of production in the form of rents large enough to furnish a great stream of accumulating wealth. The towns of Europe were devoid of mechanical devices for speeding up the manufacture of commodities. Europe possessed no numerous landless population exposed to the free exploitation of profit-seeking masters. In a word, Europe in 1500 lacked the factory labor-class, the industrial machinery, the natural resources, and the monetary treasures which were to be required for the later development of capitalism.

To a marked extent Europe gained from her new sixteenth-century contacts with the rest of the world what she lacked at home. It was domination of Asia, Africa, and America, which speeded and accentuated the rise of capitalism in modern Europe. The only factor in later capitalism which Europe lacked in 1500 and which she did not derive from the other continents was industrial machinery for quick mass production of commodities: this, however, was a natural outcome of other factors and was destined to develop in due course. Meanwhile Europe gained vast natural resources and vast treasures of the precious metals from Asia and America. She gained these materials of capitalism in a variety of ways: by military plunder, as in the cases of Mexico and Peru and the East Indies; by forced and unequal trade, whether conducted by Portuguese with civilized peoples in India, China, and Japan, or by Spaniards with primitive tribesmen in the New World; and by imposition of taxes and tribute and trade restrictions on both natives and colonists overseas. The profits which flowed to Europe from these sources were supplemented by the utilization, especially in America, of a labor system quite different from the traditional system of labor within Europe.

Capitalism  
and  
European  
Expansion

The new overseas labor basis of rising European capitalism was slavery.

Slavery had long ago disappeared from Europe, and even the serfdom which had supplanted it was declining by the year 1500.

**Overseas Slavery** The mass of Europeans were poor, but all of them had acknowledged rights of personal liberty, and a considerable part of their work was for themselves and voluntary; their exploitation was limited. When, however, the Portuguese and Spaniards explored Asia, Africa, and America, they came in contact with peoples among whom slavery was still a recognized institution, and they soon found that they themselves could profitably utilize the institution for the operation of mines and large plantations in the New World. Portuguese and Spanish colonists in America were dispersed over vast areas; they had extensive tracts of land to bring under cultivation, dense forests to cut down, deep mine shafts to sink, buildings to rear, and highways to construct across lofty mountains and mighty rivers; they were too few to do all these things themselves, and the free agricultural labor with which they were familiar at home seemed quite unsuited to the enormous tasks confronting them abroad. Besides, in the tropics they had to face a debilitating climate to which they were unaccustomed. They obviously needed a cheap, abundant, acclimated labor supply which they could command and exploit at will. They needed non-European slaves.

In the circumstances, Spaniards and Portuguese practically enslaved the native Indians of the West Indies, Mexico, Peru, and Brazil, forced them to hard labor in field and mine, and treated them sometimes with great cruelty. In the West Indies, the Caribs were so terribly exploited by the early Spanish colonists that they were all but exterminated. Then, when the national monarchs, pressed by humanitarian priests and monks, sought to protect the Indians and to promote their Christianization rather than their extermination, the colonists sought negroes as slaves. In 1517, a famous missionary bishop, Bartolomé de las Casas, a great friend and advocate of the Indians, suggested to the king of Spain that negroes from tropical Africa were better adapted than native Americans to forced labor in the West Indies. The suggestion was adopted.

Already, since the middle of the fifteenth century, the Portu-

guese had been learning from the Moslem Moors that African negroes could be bought or captured and utilized as slaves, and they had begun to employ their African stations, especially those on the Guinea coast, as centres for the slave-trade. They believed that by enslaving negroes they could Christianize them and at the same time provide their own Far Eastern empire with cheap labor able to endure exertions that were impossible to Europeans in a torrid climate. The Portuguese transported many negro slaves from Africa to the East Indies and also to Brazil.

In 1517 the king of Spain granted a patent to one of his subjects in the Netherlands, authorizing him to supply 4,000 negroes annually to the West Indies. The subject sold his patent to some Genoese merchants for 25,000 ducats; these merchants bought the slaves from the Portuguese; and thus was first systematized the slave-trade between Portuguese Africa and Spanish America. Negro slavery, once legitimized and proven profitable, grew rapidly, and slave-catching in Africa became an indispensable adjunct to plantation-growing in America and part and parcel of big capitalistic business. Europeans were enriched by forced labor abroad as they could not have been enriched by free labor at home.

At first thought, it might appear as if Spain and Portugal, as the pioneers in overseas exploration, colonization, and trade, plunder and slavery, would amass enormous stores of capital and emerge as the financial dictators of all Europe. Such was not actually the case. Though the monarchs of Portugal and Spain and some of their individual subjects drew riches from abroad, and though Lisbon and Seville supplanted Venice and Genoa as the leading commercial entrepôts for Europe, the chief profits from overseas did not remain in Spain and Portugal or inure permanently to the whole population of the peninsula. As a matter of fact, it was only a small minority of Portuguese and Spaniards, and these principally from the bourgeoisie, who concerned themselves directly with distant commercial or colonial undertakings. The masses of these nations, including noblemen and peasants, continued to devote themselves to agriculture and particularly to wool-growing. Hence, these nations produced at home hardly enough to feed and clothe themselves, and cer-

Failure to  
Develop  
Capitalism  
in Spain .  
and  
Portugal

tainly not enough to supply the many needs of their colonies or to exchange for oriental luxuries. Hence, the monarchs and prospectors of Spain and Portugal had recourse to foreign bankers for the capital investment in overseas enterprises, and the returns from such investment accrued less to Portuguese and Spaniards than to foreigners.

Italian bankers financed, just as Italian sailors manned, some of the early expeditions from Lisbon and Seville; and we have already noted the presence of Amerigo Vespucci in Spain at the opening of the sixteenth century as the representative of the Medici. But as the century advanced, banking preëminence passed from Italians to Germans and Netherlanders, and it was capitalists in these latter nations who became the chief

**Growth of Capitalism in Germany and the Netherlands** brokers of the economic expansion of Europe. Italian imports from the East fell off because of the hostility and conquests of the Ottoman Turks and because of the successful competition of the new trade routes of the Portuguese and Spaniards. Other European merchants went for goods to Lisbon and Seville, rather than to Venice or Genoa. With the setback to Venetian trade Venetian manufacturing suffered a decline. And thus Italian banking was deprived of adequate resources wherewith to take advantage of the rapidly augmenting opportunities for investment in overseas undertakings.

On the other hand, bankers of Germany and the Netherlands were in a position to supply the needful capital and to reap the rich rewards. The merchants of these lands were not disadvantaged by the advance of the Ottoman Turks. They could develop freely their traditional trade with Russia and Scandinavia, with England and the North Sea fisheries. They had at their disposal mineral stores of iron and copper which enabled them to improve and extend their manufactures. Nor were they rivals of the Portuguese and Spaniards; they had no trade routes of their own to the Far East; they could help themselves by taking their manufactured goods to Lisbon and Seville, as formerly they had taken them to Venice, and exchanging them there for oriental luxuries, which, in turn, they could now distribute throughout the greater part of Europe without serious

competition from Italians. In other words, the Italians were being left out in the cold; while the Portuguese and Spaniards were supplanting them as importers of overseas commodities, Germans and Netherlanders were superseding them as the foremost manufacturers, traders,—and bankers,—within Europe.

Political ties, moreover, were strengthening the economic bonds between the Spanish peninsula and Germany. The grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella was not only king of Spain but also lord of the Netherlands and Holy Roman Emperor over all the German states; while promoting Spanish colonization and commerce overseas, he favored the industrial and banking interests of his German and Netherlandish subjects, and his son became king of Portugal.

The attendant growth of capitalism in Germany is illustrated by the fortunes of the Fugger family. This family was descended from a weaver of Augsburg, who became a leader of <sup>The</sup> <sup>Fugger</sup> Family merchant guild of the city, as well as of his craft guild, and who on his death in 1408 left savings of some three thousand gulden. During the fifteenth century the family extended their financial operations. Under the lead of Jacob Fugger, who had been trained for business in Venice, the family exploited silver mines in the Tyrol and copper mines in Hungary and traded in spices, silk, and wool in almost all countries of Europe, while their wealth enabled them to make large loans to the Holy Roman Emperor and to the pope. By 1500 the Fuggers of Augsburg had a capital of two hundred thousand gulden and were accounted the richest bankers in Europe. They began to invest money in quicksilver mines in Spain, and soon they were advancing funds for Spanish expeditions overseas and for the election of the king of Spain as Holy Roman Emperor. They are said to have made more than fifty per cent profit on their investments in Spanish shipping and colonization. In 1527 their capital amounted to two million gulden, and in 1546 to four million.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The two million gulden of 1527 represent a purchasing power of some twenty million dollars in American money of 1930.

In the meantime, the shrewd Fuggers, aware of the shift of the commercial centre of gravity from the Mediterranean and central Europe to the Atlantic seaboard, had established a branch of their banking business at the port of Antwerp, in the Netherlands. Thither flocked other bankers and merchants,<sup>1</sup> attracted by its favorable location at the crossroads of the old and new trade routes. By the middle of the sixteenth century, more than a thousand foreign merchants—German, Spanish, Portuguese, English, Danish, and Italian—were residing at Antwerp. Every week, two thousand wagons came into the city, to exchange wares with the four hundred ships which daily entered its harbor. A Venetian ambassador of the time declared that as much business was done at Antwerp in a fortnight as at Venice in a year.

At Antwerp developed many institutions of modern capitalism. The first “stock exchange,” or “bourse,” was established here in 1531; it marketed capital, as well as commodities, so that princes or promoters who desired to borrow money, and who formerly would have applied to individual financiers like the Medici or the Fuggers, now turned to the exchange of Antwerp. At Antwerp, too, grew up the practice of “betting on the exchange,” and here lotteries flourished. Life insurance came into use, limited mainly to fixed periods, such as the duration of a journey by land or sea. Insurance of ships and cargoes, already experimented with by the Italians, developed to such an extent at Antwerp that in 1564 six hundred of its inhabitants were making out of it what one writer has described as a “fat living.”

If the major capitalistic profits of the economic expansion of Europe in the sixteenth century passed at once from Spain and Portugal to Germany and the Netherlands, a not inconsiderable share was soon dispersed, by means of such exchanges as that of Antwerp, among merchants, manufacturers, and money-lenders of France, England, Scandinavia, and other countries, who were not slow to catch the “capitalistic spirit” and to embody it in action. By the end of the sixteenth century, capitalism was deeply rooted in the economy of all western and central Europe.

<sup>1</sup> Including representatives of the Welser family, originally from Augsburg, and hardly less famous than the Fuggers as investors in overseas trade and colonization.

The rapid rise of capitalism had profound effects on the traditional social conditions and institutions of Europe. Already, prior to 1500, as we have seen, the medieval pattern of society was being gradually altered; the old systems of manor and guild were undergoing transformation. But what was merely evolutionary at the opening of the sixteenth century reached well-nigh revolutionary proportions at the close of the century.

Effects of  
the Rise  
of Capi-  
talism

Capitalism dealt a body blow at medieval agriculture and the manorial system. Nobles, seeking to make their estates more profitable to themselves, tended to become "absentee landlords," that is, to take up residence in towns and to engage in commercial enterprise. In order to have ready cash, they hastened to transmute the customary services and payments in kind of their peasants into money-rents; and over their manors and tenants they placed hired agents, with instructions to exact as high rents as possible. Usually such an arrangement was unfavorable to the peasants, because many of them were forced from a partially independent position as tenants into a wholly dependent position as agricultural laborers, and because the "absentee landlord" seldom saw with his own eyes the suffering caused by his new capitalistic methods. It was the new capitalism which greatly contributed, moreover, to the "enclosure" movement in England and to similar movements in other countries, all of which were directed toward an increased production of manufacturing staples, mostly wool, for distant markets, and simultaneously toward a decreased employment of skilled farm labor.

On Agri-  
culture

Capitalism revolutionized European industry. The medieval guilds, already in decline, now largely succumbed. They were too local and too narrow to cope with the world-supply of raw materials and the world-demand for manufactured commodities. Outside the guilds appeared a new form of productive and distributing organization—the so-called "domestic" or "putting out" system of industry—by which a capitalist "middleman" bought raw material, put it out to artisans to be worked up in their homes for wages, and sold the finished product for as much as it would fetch. Under this organization, the middleman or employer tended to spread manufacturing over a fairly wide area and

On  
Industry

to utilize the cheap labor of the dispossessed serfs and the wives of agricultural wage-workers. He was not handicapped, like the guildsman, by the necessity of confining production to trained workmen under one roof. Furthermore, he was soon able, by his supply of capital, to accumulate a larger stock and to buy and sell at better advantage. The new system was not without detriment to the employees: it differentiated more sharply between capital and labor, debasing the latter, and it tended to substitute for the close tie between master and apprentice an unsympathetic impersonal relationship.

Confronted with the new capitalist system of industry, the old guilds were compelled to alter their status or to yield to destructive competition. In the main they adopted one of two alternatives. They admitted capitalists to membership, and under the leadership of these transformed themselves into corporations which proceeded to extend their operations and to adopt the "domestic" system. Or, remaining purely local entities, they accepted employment from capitalist middlemen and became little cogs in the great wheel of world commerce.

As the line became more clearly marked between capital and labor, both in industry and in agriculture, and as the commercial centres of Europe shifted from the city states of the Mediterranean and Baltic seas to the national states of the Atlantic seaboard, the "wealth of nations" became increasingly an

**National Mercantilism** object of solicitude on the part of the monarchs of western Europe. Capitalists and laborers alike looked

more and more to their respective national governments, rather than to a city or province, for protection and support, and monarchs were soon applying to national domains the mercantile policies which had long been pursued on an urban basis by the Italian city states. In other words, the expansion of trade and the rise of capitalism enormously quickened national consciousness and led to the adoption of national mercantilism.

"Mercantilism" is a modern word signifying governmental regulation of economic affairs, especially trade and industry. The thing itself was no novelty in the sixteenth century, for city governments for hundreds of years had supervised and directed the economic activities of their citizens; traditionally, the merchant guild and the craft guild were agencies of urban

mercantilism, the former for commerce, and the latter for manufacturing. The novelty in sixteenth-century mercantilism was its extension from city to nation and the transfer of its chief agency from local guild to national monarch. Not the city of Lisbon but the king of Portugal tried to monopolize the trade of the Far East, and this not exclusively for the benefit of the citizens of Lisbon but for the greater prosperity and security of the whole Portuguese nation. It was not the city of Seville but the king of Spain who attempted to exploit the New World, and in such a way as to strengthen the Spanish monarchy. It was because other national monarchs had similar ambitions and similar convictions that they encouraged their seamen and merchants to break the monopolies of Portuguese and Spaniards and to establish monopolies of their own.

Under mercantilism, it was a central aim of national states to attract and keep as much gold and silver as possible, both in their royal treasuries and in the hands of private subjects. Gold and silver were believed to constitute the basic wealth of a nation: they were essential to coinage and indispensable for the maintenance of armies and warships; they guaranteed national prestige and power. Hence, Portugal and Spain forbade alien exportation of the precious metals from mother country and colonial empire. Hence, too, other nations, notably the Netherlands, France, and England, resorted to smuggling, raiding, and piracy, in order to obtain a share of the precious metals.

It followed, under mercantilist practice, that national states began closely to regulate the manufacturing and commerce of their citizens with a view toward supplying themselves with an adequate stock of precious metals and making proper provision for military and naval power. Thus, heavy tariff, and sometimes complete prohibition, was imposed on the importation of manufactured articles from foreign countries, and export duties were levied on commodities deemed necessary for national defense. The shipping of one's own nation was favored, while that of foreign nations was penalized. It followed, also, that, just as Spain and Portugal endeavored to hold as large colonial empires as possible and to exclude alien colonists and merchants from them, so the Netherlands, France, and England sought to establish overseas colonies and trading posts which they

might monopolize for their economic advantage and political power.

Capitalism, with the results already mentioned, was promoted by the economic expansion of Europe in the sixteenth century, and, in turn, this expansion was speeded and magnified by the rise of capitalism. The rise of capitalism enabled kings and corporations not only to promote distant exploration on a large scale and to make many overseas settlements, but also to revolutionize commerce in direction and quantity. It meant that the chief trade changed from the south and east of Europe to the west, from city states to national states, from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. It meant that the vessels which sailed the Atlantic (and Pacific) at the end of the sixteenth century were larger, stronger, and far more numerous than the fragile caravels and galleys which a century before had borne Da Gama to India or Columbus to America. It meant likewise that the cargoes of the later vessels were heavier and more varied.

Under capitalistic auspices, Asiatic luxuries were poured into Europe—spices, drugs, cottons, silks, ivory, indigo, sugar, precious gems, ebony and sandal-wood, coffee and tea, carpets and rugs, wall paper, porcelains. From America came great stores of silver and gold and certain strictly indigenous products, such as tobacco, cocoa, quinine, maize (Indian corn), potatoes, lima beans, tapioca, mahogany. Into America, European colonists and investors introduced horses and cattle, donkeys, swine, sheep, poultry, garden vegetables, lemons and oranges, bananas, vines, olives, flax, grains, and sugar-cane; and in due course there was surplus of these things to ship back to Europe.<sup>1</sup> Over against these imports from oversea, Europe exported wheat, woollen and cotton cloth, hardware, gunpowder, and a great profusion of manufactured articles, including various trinkets which were found useful in trade with “backward” peoples.

In the midst of such a novel world-market and of such a sudden rise of capitalism, Europe experienced extraordinary

<sup>1</sup> Conspicuous among such things was rum, which was distilled from fermented sugar-cane. Rum-making was a major industry of the West Indies, and rum-shipping an important item of commerce, both to Europe, where rum speedily became a popular beverage, and to Africa, where its potency lured many negroes into captivity and nerved them for their dreadful voyage across the Atlantic and for their forced labor in raising sugar and making more rum!

social strains and stresses. The gulf between rich and poor widened; the rich became richer, and the poor poorer. There was an epidemic of peasant revolts against greedy landlords, and the towns suffered from growing pains. National consciousness and national competition increased; international war assumed a deadlier and costlier character. Kings intensified their absolutism and, in union with the middle classes, overawed both nobility and clergy.

Social  
Strains  
and  
Stresses

Particularly noteworthy was the rise of well-to-do townsmen—the capitalistic bourgeoisie—to hitherto unprecedented influence and distinction. The new bourgeois—the new capitalists—were at the elbows of kings and dukes and prelates. Many an impecunious nobleman, who needed money as well as a wife, sought the hand of some wealthy merchant's daughter. Some members of the bourgeoisie obtained admission to the ranks of the nobility by rendering capitalistic service to the monarch. And members of the nobility found it more and more profitable, if still a bit undignified, to make investments in manufacturing and trade. Capitalistic agriculture was allying itself with capitalistic commerce and industry. The basis was already laid, in the sixteenth-century expansion of Europe, for the modern supremacy of the bourgeoisie.

The  
Bour-  
geoisie



## CHAPTER III

### THE INTELLECTUAL QUICKENING



MORE important than the rise of national states and royal absolutism in the realm of politics, and hardly less significant than the expansion of Europe and the development of capitalism in the economic sphere, was the intellectual quickening which occurred in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and which has had profound effect on modern society and civilization. This quickening was evidenced in: (1) the invention of printing and the resulting diffusion of knowledge; (2) the rediscovery of classical civilization, and the ensuing vogue of classicism and humanism; (3) the cultivation of renaissance art; (4) the flowering of national literatures; and (5) the development of natural science and historical criticism.

#### I. THE INVENTION OF PRINTING

The present day is notably distinguished by the prevalence of enormous numbers of printed books, periodicals, and newspapers. Yet this very printing, which seems so commonplace to us now, has had but a comparatively brief existence. From the earliest recorded history up to less than five hundred years ago every book in Europe<sup>1</sup> was laboriously written by hand,<sup>2</sup> and, although copyists acquired a surprising swiftness in reproducing books, libraries of any size were the property exclusively of rich institutions or wealthy individuals. It was at the beginning of modern times that the invention of printing first provided a potent means of disseminating information and opinion.

Printing is a complicated process. Among its most essential elements are *movable type*, with which the impression is made,

<sup>1</sup>For an account of early printing in China, see the authoritative work by T. F. Carter, *The Invention of Printing in China and its Spread Westward* (1924).

<sup>2</sup>It is interesting to note the meaning of our present word "manuscript," which is derived from the Latin—*manu scriptum* ("written by hand").

and *paper*, on which it is made. The development of paper, in particular, took a long time.

For their manuscripts the ancient Greeks and Romans had used papyrus, the prepared fibre of a tough reed which grew in the valley of the Nile River. This papyrus was very expensive and heavy, and not at all suitable for printing. Parchment, the dressed skins of certain animals, especially sheep, which became the standard material for the hand-written documents of the middle ages, was extremely durable, but like papyrus, it was costly, unwieldy, and ill adapted to printing.

The forerunner of modern European paper was probably that which the Chinese made from silk as early as the second century before Christ. For silk the Moslems at Damascus in the middle of the eighth century appear to have substituted cotton, and this so-called Damascus paper was later imported into Greece and southern Italy and into Spain. In the latter country the native-grown hemp and flax were again substituted for cotton, and the resulting linen paper was used considerably in Castile in the thirteenth century and thence penetrated across the Pyrenees into France and gradually all over western and central Europe. Parchment, however, for a long time kept its preëminence over silk, cotton, or linen paper, because of its greater firmness and durability, and notaries were long forbidden to use any other substance in their official writings. Not until the second half of the fifteenth century was assured the triumph of modern paper,<sup>1</sup> as distinct from papyrus or parchment, when printing, then on the threshold of its career, demanded a substance of moderate price which would easily receive the impression of movable type.

The idea of movable type was derived from an older practice of carving reverse letters or even whole inscriptions upon blocks of wood so that when they were inked and applied to writing material they would leave a clear impression. Medieval kings and princes frequently had their signatures cut on these blocks of wood or metal, in order to impress them on charters, and a kind of engraving was employed to reproduce pictures or written pages as early as the twelfth century.

<sup>1</sup> The word "paper" is derived from the ancient "papyrus."

Elements  
of the  
Invention

Paper

Movable  
Type

It was a natural but slow evolution from block-impressing to the practice of casting individual letters in separate little pieces of metal, all of the same height, and then arranging them in any desired sequence for printing. The great advantage of movable type over the blocks was the infinite variety of work which could be done by simply setting and resetting the type.

The actual history of the transition from the use of blocks to movable type—the real invention of modern printing—is unknown. It has been maintained that the first European to make and use movable type was a certain Lourens Coster, a native of the town of Haarlem in the Netherlands. All we positively know, however, is that about the year 1450 a man by the name of John Gutenberg was employing movable type in a printing-shop in the German city of Mainz, and that the earliest known products of the new art were papal "letters of indulgence" and a version of the Bible, both printed at Mainz by Gutenberg in 1454.

After the middle of the fifteenth century, the marvellous art spread with almost lightning rapidity from Mainz throughout Germany, the Italian states, France, and England,—in fact, throughout all Christendom. It was welcomed by scholars and applauded by popes. Printing presses were erected at Rome in 1466, and book-publishing speedily became an honorable and lucrative business in every large city. Thus, at the opening of the sixteenth century, the scholarly Aldus Manutius was operating in Venice the famous Aldine press, whose beautiful editions of the Greek and Latin classics are still esteemed as masterpieces of the printer's art. The first printing press in the New World was set up at Mexico City by the Spaniards in 1536.

The early printers fashioned the characters of their type after the letters which the scribes had used in long-hand writing. Different kinds of common hand-writing gave rise, therefore, to such varieties of type as the heavy black-faced "Gothic" that prevailed in Germany or the several adaptations of the clear, neat Roman characters which predominated in southern Europe and in England. The compressed "italic" type was devised in the Aldine press in Venice to enable the publisher to crowd more words upon a page.

A steady development of the new art characterized the sixteenth century, and at least four remarkable results became evident. (1) The supply of books materially increased. Under earlier conditions, a skilled and conscientious copyist might, by prodigious toil, produce two books in a year. Now, in a single year of the sixteenth century, some 24,000 copies of one of Erasmus's books were struck off by one printing press.

Results  
of the  
Invention

(2) By lessening the expense of books and enabling at least all members of the middle class, as well as nobles and princes, to possess private libraries, printing diffused knowledge, broadened education, and increased the demand for books.

(3) A greater degree of accuracy was guaranteed by printing than by manual copying. Before the invention of printing, it was well-nigh impossible to secure two copies of any work that would be exactly alike. Now, the constant proof-reading and the fact that an entire edition was printed from the same type helped to correct the anciently recurring faults of forgery or of error.

(4) Printing made it possible and profitable to cater to the tastes and whims of the common people. Cheap pamphlets and ephemeral publications, including many controversial tracts, began to appear in large quantities, stimulating a general desire for literacy and at the same time considerable intellectual unrest.

## 2. THE REDISCOVERY OF CLASSICAL CIVILIZATION

Printing, the European invention of which at the very dawn of modern times has just been described, was a novel and useful agency for expressing the ideas of the sixteenth century. Many of these ideas centred in an intellectual movement which is called "classicism," and which was derived from a rediscovery of the classical civilizations of ancient Greece and Rome, just as the contemporaneous expansion of Europe was an outcome of the discovery of the disparate civilizations of far-away Asia and America. European life of the sixteenth century was enriched, not only by new contacts with distant places, but also by renewed contacts with distant times.

Classicism

Of course, Europeans always had retained some intellectual and cultural contact with the classical civilization of ancient Greece and Rome, just as they had always had some commercial

The Classical Heritage

intercourse with Asia. They never ceased to regard the Greeks and Romans as their predecessors and forbears and as the first peoples who had been converted to Christianity. The ancient classical languages continued to be used in church services—Latin in the West, and Greek in the East. Ancient architecture continued to serve as a model for early Christian church buildings. Many a written word continued to survive and many a monument of stone continued to stand as constant reminders to medieval Europeans of “the glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome.”

It is true that during the middle ages, under Christian auspices, much of the spirit of classical civilization was altered, and certain novel features were added to European culture. For example, such medieval achievements as Gothic architecture, rhymed poetry, “romances,” morality plays, stained glass, symbolic painting of great spiritual power, “Gregorian” music, and fantastic humor in sculpture, were radically different from anything in pagan Graeco-Roman civilization. But all the distinctive achievements of the middle ages were in addition to the classical heritage which continued to exist and to influence Europe.

Certain classical writers were widely known and cherished throughout the middle ages—notably Virgil, Cæsar, and Cicero. Moreover, both a revived study of Aristotle and a renewed study of the Roman law occupied important positions in the medieval universities and helped to produce the philosophy, the theology, and the canon law which were most characteristic of the learning and higher education of Christendom. Aristotle was revered by monks and popes, almost as if he had been a Christian saint instead of a pagan philosopher. Then, too, most of the medieval ideas of astronomy, medicine, and chemistry were derived, directly or indirectly, from classical sources; and from classical sources, at least indirectly and in part, were drawn many of the medieval notions of history. The most popular “general histories” of the middle ages represented combinations of data of the Hebrew scriptures with data of ancient Greek and Roman authors. In fine, medieval Europeans were indebted in many ways to earlier classical civilization, and they were aware of their debt.

Yet, during the centuries of transition from middle ages to modern times—the centuries from the fourteenth to the seventeenth—classical Græco-Roman civilization was rediscovered by Europeans in new ways and with far-reaching consequences. Previously the inhabitants of the “West” had known something about classical literature, art, philosophy, and science; but they had applied their knowledge to practical purposes and had infused it with the spirit of Christianity. They had revered Virgil mainly because he was supposed in his *Aeneid* to prefigure the Christian Church and to inculcate moral truths. They had adapted Græco-Roman architecture to the requirements of church-building. They had employed Aristotle for the construction of their own scholastic theology and philosophy. They had found in ancient Greek and Roman writers many “scientific” speculations which confirmed their own notions about the universe or which appeared to be of practical value to themselves. Now, however, by the sixteenth century, inhabitants of Christendom were reading the classics, not because they possessed religious or ethical significance and not always because they supplied useful information, but rather because they were inherently interesting and enjoyable and because their content was provocative and their form delightful.

Rediscovery of Classical Civilization

This is what is meant by the “rediscovery of ancient civilization,” or (as it is variously termed) the “classical revival” or the “renaissance.”<sup>1</sup> It was basically the sympathetic study of

<sup>1</sup> The word “renaissance,” meaning “rebirth,” has frequently but unfortunately been employed to describe the whole period of transition from middle ages to modern times. There was, of course, during this period, as is pointed out above, a “rebirth” of classical art and learning, with significant effects on the politics, the economics, and even the scientific speculations of early modern Europe. But many of the most characteristic events of the period from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century proceeded from no “rebirth”; they were new-born and strictly native to the period. There was no model or inspiration in ancient Greece or Rome for the crusades, the establishment of Islam at Constantinople, the rise of national states, the discovery of America, the commercial and missionary activities of Europeans in southern Africa and the Far East, the invention of gunpowder, the mariner’s compass, and printing. Indeed, “renaissance” implies a retrograde and “reactionary” movement, which, if true in certain respects of the period of transition from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, grossly underestimates or utterly obscures the vitally “progressive” and novel developments of the time. Hence, while the word “renaissance” may properly be employed within rather strict limitations, it should not be used to denote all the beginnings of our modern civilization.

the masterpieces, the "classics," of ancient Latin and Greek literature. Whence it was, also, an appreciation, amounting at times to blind veneration, of all forms of ancient civilization, and a conscious effort to refashion fine arts and ways of life according to classical models, coupled with a pronounced reaction against everything that was deemed "medieval."

The rediscovery of ancient civilization had begun in an important way in the fourteenth century with an Italian, Francesco Petrarch, Petrarcha (1304-1374), or, as he is known to us, and the New Learning in Italy Petrarch. After spending his boyhood in Tuscany and his young manhood in papal service, Petrarch devoted himself exclusively to a life of scholarship and the pursuit of literature. As an avocation he wrote some popular poems in Italian, but his vocation was the sympathetic and enthusiastic study of the Latin classics. He admired them, and in a multitude of polished Latin epistles and in numerous Latin poems of his own he strove to imitate the form and re-express the content of his cherished models. By daily example and precept he urged his contemporaries to study the classics and to perfect their Latin style. Petrarch took himself very seriously, and so, in time, did others, with the result that he exerted tremendous influence. He became famous as "the scholar." The pope supplied him with funds. Kings vied with one another in heaping benefits upon him. The Venetian senate gave him the freedom of the town. The university of Paris and the city of Rome alike crowned him with laurel.

Petrarch's enthusiasm for ancient Latin literature was fully shared by his fellow countryman, Boccaccio; and during the next century, the fifteenth, most scholars in central and western Europe, first in Italy, and later in other countries, followed in the footsteps of Boccaccio and Petrarch. Petrarch himself had been a serious Latin student, but he had had no profound knowledge of Greek. About the year 1400, however, as a consequence of Moslem Turkish pressure against the Byzantine Empire, Greek scholars and teachers in considerable numbers left Constantinople, crossed the Adriatic, and settled in Italy. One of these, a certain Chrysoloras, founded a famous school of classical Greek studies at Florence and gave lectures on Homer to crowds of students.

The zeal for Greek and Latin classics reached its highest

pitch in Italy in the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth, and it was gradually communicated to other countries. Greek was first taught in England and in France about the middle of the fifteenth century. By the sixteenth century the study of pagan classics, both Greek and Latin, was being prosecuted throughout Christendom. The "new learning," as it was called, in contradistinction to the medieval scholastic learning, was in the ascendant and was already producing important results.

First of all, the "new learning" inaugurated the vogue of "classicism," the fashion of regarding the classical civilization of ancient Greece and Rome as the greatest which the world had ever known or ever could know. It was a vogue which was to endure until the nineteenth century and which in the meantime was to be the chief factor in determining <sup>The</sup> <sup>Vogue of</sup> <sup>Classicism</sup> the styles of literature, architecture, and most other arts prevalent in Europe. Not only was every educated European expected to know the classical tongues of Greece and Rome, but, if one aspired to write in a vernacular language, one must conform to the classical unities, employ classical names, insert classical references and quotations, and imitate the pompous phrases and elaborate metaphors of Homer or Demosthenes or Virgil or Cicero. Or, if one undertook to rear an edifice, one must construct it according to classical models, fronting it with Greek columns and pediment, topping it with Roman dome, and adorning it with sculptured or painted representations of nude Apollos and Aphrodites.<sup>1</sup>

Secondly, the "new learning" was attended by "humanism," the belief that the charm of the classics resides essentially in their humanness, their humanity, and that anyone who would recapture and hold the greatest charm in life <sup>Human-</sup> <sup>ism</sup> must not prize the supernatural, the theological, or the ascetical above the natural, the human, and the sensual. Satisfaction is better than sacrifice, and self-gratification, than self-denial. One should not look to the gods more than to one's self and one's fellows. Indeed, one should strive sympathetically to enter into the life and enjoyment of one's contemporaries and,

<sup>1</sup> Classicism, especially important in vernacular literature and renaissance art of the sixteenth century, is discussed more fully in sections 4 and 4 of the present chapter.

perhaps above all, into the life and enjoyment of ancient Greeks and Romans. Such studies as might promote these ends were to be encouraged as "humane letters" (*litteræ humaniores*) or "humanities"; others were to be discouraged. The exponents of humanism—the so-called humanists—recognized the classical languages and literatures and profane (as distinct from sacred) history as the outstanding "humanities." By the sixteenth century, Latin, already utilized as the medium of instruction in European universities, became a formal subject of instruction, with emphasis shifted from the language to its pagan literature. Greek was introduced into the curricula of the universities, and profane history also. Outside the universities, the "humanities" were especially fostered by a new institution—the academy—a voluntary association which arose in a particular city or locality in imitation of the ancient academy of Plato and which patronized the pursuit and publication of scholarly, literary, and, finally, scientific studies.<sup>1</sup>

Thirdly, the "new learning" stimulated intellectual curiosity and criticism, the passion of the "collector," and what is known  
The New Scholar-ship as "scholarly research." In order to find out as much as possible about the vaunted ancients, scholars sought forgotten or neglected manuscripts of classical writers, and by ransacking monasteries and old libraries they managed to discover such supposedly "lost" classics as Quintilian's treatise on oratory, Cicero's oration on Cæcina, the histories of Tacitus, Livy, and Ammianus Marcellinus, the mathematical work of Firmicus, the architectural writings of Vitruvius, and the agricultural essays of Columella, to say nothing of a profusion of manuscripts of classics already well known. The collecting of classical manuscripts soon became a profession or a fad, and many a rising commercial capitalist gathered together a classical library as greedily as he amassed a store of precious metals. With collecting, went buying, selling, copying, and publishing of the old manuscripts. And for purposes of publication, scholars compared variant manuscripts, applied textual criticism to them, and collated them. Whence arose a firmer grasp on history and historical method, a clearer perception of the copyist's errors which might be expected in old manuscripts, and certain rules which could be used in determining what was probably true and what was cer-

<sup>1</sup> Concerning these academies, see below, ch. xi, sec. 1.

tainly false in a given document. One of the Italian humanists of the fifteenth century, Lorenzo Valla (1406-1457), by means of acute historical criticism, proved that the so-called "Donation of Constantine," a document which pretended to be a grant of temporal sovereignty over Rome from the Emperor Constantine to the pope and which during the middle ages had generally been accepted as authentic, was in reality a rather clumsy forgery.

Fourthly, the "new learning," so given to classical scholarship and to enthusiastic appreciation of antiquity, tended to be contemptuous and even denunciatory of the culture of the intervening centuries between Cicero and Petrarch. Classicists and humanists began to bestow on these centuries the opprobrious term "middle ages"<sup>1</sup> and to describe them collectively as "dark." The lofty architecture of these ages, with its pointed arches and flying buttresses, was styled "Gothic," a synonym for "barbarous."<sup>2</sup> Scholasticism was denounced as arid and futile; the spoken and written medieval Latin, as "monkish"; vernacular literature, as puerile; and the whole array of medieval intellectuals, as distressingly ignorant and superstitious. In this way the "new learning" turned its back on the immediately antecedent civilization of Europe, became positively reactionary, and mistakenly contended that the only worthwhile elements in European civilization were those which the humanists of early modern times were salvaging from antiquity.<sup>3</sup>

Scorn of  
the  
Middle  
Ages

<sup>1</sup> One of the first inventors of the term "middle ages" was a Roman humanist and historian of the fifteenth century, in papal employ, Flavio Biondo, whose *Decades* represented an attempt to outline the "gloomy" history of Europe during the thousand years from 410 to 1410.

<sup>2</sup> This use of the term "Gothic" was popularized by Giorgio Vasari (1511-1571), a pupil of Michelangelo and author of the famous *Lives of Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*. Vasari described the monuments of the middle ages as having been built in a style originated by the Goths, "those Germanic races untutored in the classics," and defined the "Gothic style" as a "heap of spires, pinnacles, and grotesque decorations lacking in all the simple beauty of the classical orders." Such estimates of medieval art were not seriously reconsidered and revised until the nineteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> "Really the studies of the humanists were just as bookish as those of the scholastics and were even more antiquarian, artificial, and doctrinaire, since they dealt with a culture that was dead and gone, which they could not hope to resuscitate except in ghostly form, while it put them out of touch and tune with their own immediate past. To-day we have in turn abandoned the humanities as dead languages and useless culture; the tendency is to study only subjects "of present inter-

Fifthly, the "new learning" inspired among its devotees a satisfaction with themselves and a glorying in their achievements which has been interpreted by sympathetic moderns as salutary individualism, and by others as silly affectation or offensive bumpiousness. There can be no doubt that a kind of assertive individualism was admired and practiced by humanists in sharp contrast with the self-abnegation of the medieval monk, who, without personal property or family, was vowed to obedience and humility. It was of a kind, indeed, with the individualism which was contemporaneously displayed by hardy explorers and colonists, by daring pirates and freebooters, and by gambling middle-men, investors, and bankers, and which was shortly to be exemplified in a widespread repudiation of established tradition and authority. The "new learning" certainly contributed something to the vogue of individualism in modern times, though it would be a very questionable generalization to say that in all respects modern times have given greater prominence to the individual than the middle ages gave. Medieval feudalism was notoriously individualistic; the basis of the medieval state was personal, rather than territorial or national; medieval armies were composed of individual fighters rather than of a disciplined soldiery; and it has been modern times, not the middle ages, which have witnessed the subordination of the individual to mass-production, mass-education, and mass-action.

The rediscovery of classical civilization was a major element in the beginnings of modern Europe. It gave a different emphasis and a somewhat different content to European thought from what had prevailed during the middle ages. Its immediate and most obvious fruits were primarily antiquarian, and in the long run it was to prove less revolutionary than its sixteenth-century proponents anticipated. Eventually, classical antiquity would lose its hold on men's interest; even scholars would cease to know much Greek or Latin; scientific history would supplant humanist history; and, for proper background to modern development, a

est," such as sociology, psychology, political science, economics, modern languages and literatures, the modern novel, the modern drama, natural science. Perhaps it is now too late for us to reach our roots down where they belong into medieval civilization, but could we do so, we should draw strength and nourishment from knowledge of the past beneath us as well as from the intellectual atmosphere of the present about us." Lynn Thorndike, *A Short History of Civilization* (1926).  
p. 348.

juster view of the middle ages would be incorporated in a much vaster panorama of human history. Yet such an outcome was still in the distant future and was not suspected by the classicists and humanists of the sixteenth century. Nor should it blind our eyes to the historical fact that the rediscovery of classical civilization, with all its shortcomings and limitations, emphasized certain habits of thought and behavior which have been abiding characteristics of modern civilization, even after the decline of the classicism which first formed them.

In the meantime, especially in the sixteenth century, classicism and humanism were very much in fashion with educated Europeans. A host of scholars pursued the "new learning" individually and in academies and universities, and if some of the older universities still conservatively frowned upon it in defense of medieval scholasticism, new universities were established for its special patronage at Louvain (in the Netherlands), St. Andrews (in Scotland), Upsala (in Sweden), Freiburg, Tübingen, and Wittenberg (in Germany), and elsewhere. Merchant princes and wealthy bankers gave lavish financial support to it, and prelates and kings encouraged it, by pensions and services. The head of the banking family of the Medici, Lorenzo the Magnificent (1449-1492), subsidized humanists and renaissance artists and founded the great Florentine library of Greek and Roman classics. The French King Francis I (1515-1547) attracted Italian classical scholars and artists to his court, created the Collège de France to train native Frenchmen in the "new learning," and otherwise stimulated its vogue in France. The other European monarchs, contemporary with Francis, performed similar service for the "new learning" in their respective countries—Henry VIII of England, Charles V of Germany and Spain, Christian II of Denmark, Sigismund I of Poland. Even among the common people it became the fashion for parents to name their children, not after Christian saints, but after pagan celebrities—Cæsar, Virgil, Æneas, Plutarch, Homer, Solon, Pericles, Diana, Julia, Augusta, Lucretia, etc.

It may appear strange that there was not serious and sustained opposition to the "new learning" on the part of sincere Christians and ecclesiastical authorities. At first, it is true, the study of the pagan classics aroused misgiving and even hostility among some clergymen, who feared lest paganism should be revived

Vogue  
of the  
New  
Learning

and the moral and dogmatic teachings of Christianity should be obscured and neglected. Gradually, however, the "new learning" came actually to be tolerated, and then accepted, and finally patronized with liberality and ardor, not only by innumerable bishops and abbots and priests, but also by popes. Pope Nicholas V. (1447-1455) was himself a conspicuous classical scholar and a munificent patron of others; he hired hundreds of persons to copy old manuscripts; he awarded a handsome prize for a metrical translation of Homer; and he collected at the Vatican a large classical library. Pius II (1458-1464) acquired before his election to the papacy a European reputation, under the classical pen-name of *Aeneas Silvius*, as a great Latinist and an indefatigable collector of manuscripts, a reputation which his pontificate enhanced. Papal patronage of the "new learning" reached its zenith early in the sixteenth century with the son of Lorenzo di Medici, Leo X (1513-1521), who combined with prodigal expenditure in aid of classicism a very real personal enjoyment of its tastes and pleasures. Leo X was fond of the masterpieces of the ancients and the creations of humanistic contemporaries, music and the theatre, art and poetry, the formal and the witty, suppers reminiscent of Lucullus and pageants worthy of Pompey.

Most Europeans could see nothing incompatible between practice of the Christian religion and the pursuit of classical studies; and it was maintained, quite plausibly, that Christian civilization was being deepened and uplifted by the rediscovery of pagan civilization. Yet there can be little doubt that the new enthusiasm for classicism and humanism was subversive of certain historical traditions and usages of the Christian religion. It was inimical to the Christian traditions of self-sacrifice and self-denial, critical of the long established Christian institution of monasticism, and scornful of the long esteemed Christian absorption in theology. In certain instances, moreover, it prompted an indifference and a tolerance in religious matters, which, if only remotely associated with our present-day ideas of religious toleration, represented at the opening of the sixteenth century a marked lessening of the fanaticism which had characterized Christianity (and most other religions) during earlier centuries.

Certain prominent exponents of the "new learning" in Europe in the first part of the sixteenth century should be noted. There were two Germans, John Reuchlin, tutor to young princes and nobles, profound student of Greek literature, and pioneer in Hebrew grammar and philology, and his nephew, Philip Melanchthon, professor of Greek at the newly founded university of Wittenberg and close associate of Martin Luther. There were two Englishmen, John Colet, dean of the cathedral of St. Paul in London and famed teacher and preacher, and Sir Thomas More, chancellor of the realm under Henry VIII and author of *Utopia*, a celebrated modern description of an ideal state and society such as had anciently been portrayed by Plato. There was a Dane, Povl Helgesen, professor at the university of Copenhagen, historian, grammarian, and controversialist. There was a Frenchman, William Budé, expert writer of both classical Greek and classical Latin and principal agent under Francis I in the establishment of the Collège de France and likewise of a great library which later became world famous as the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Towering above all his contemporaries was Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536), the foremost humanist and intellectual arbiter of the early sixteenth century. Erasmus was a native of Rotterdam in the Netherlands, but he passed most of his long and studious life in other countries—in Germany, France, England, Italy, and Switzerland. He became a priest and a doctor of sacred theology, but it was as a lover of books, a prolific writer, and a sociable being among fellow humanists that he earned his chief title to fame. Erasmus, to an even greater degree than Petrarch, might be called *the* scholar of Europe. He corresponded with almost every first-rate writer of his generation and was on terms of personal friendship with Aldus Manutius, the noted publisher of Venice, with John Colet and Budé and Sir Thomas More, with Pope Leo X, with the Holy Roman Emperor, and with the kings of England and France. For a time he presided over the new Collège de France.

Erasmus was a professed Christian and never questioned the ultimate authority of church or pope. But, good humanist that he was, he made light of practices which he deemed superstitious, poked fun at theologians, monks, and bigots, and was

Outstanding Exponents of the New Learning

a bitter foe of credulity and ignorance. His scholarly <sup>old</sup> text of the New Testament was accompanied not only by a new Latin translation but with commentary which mercilessly flayed hair-splitting theologians. In his *Praise of Folly* he directed all his wit and sarcasm against theologians and monks, complaining that the foolish people identified religion only with pilgrimages, the invocation of saints, and the veneration of relics. In his satirical dialogues, the *Adages* and the *Colloquies*, he assailed ignorance and superstition with quip and jest. He laughed at everyone, himself included. "Literary people," said he, "resemble the great figured tapestries of Flanders, which produce effect only when seen from a distance."

If the humanists were critical of the church and of Christianity as popularly practiced in Europe at the beginning of the sixteenth century, many of them, including some of the greatest, felt little or no sympathy with the general religious upheaval which, later in the century, produced Protestantism and led to increased fanaticism and intolerance. Only Melanchthon, of the leading humanists already mentioned, actually seceded from the Catholic Church, and he was a peculiarly mild and compromising Protestant. The others, typified by Erasmus, seem to have felt that the theological tempest which Martin Luther aroused all over Europe would destroy fair minded scholarship—the very essence of humanism; they desired simply a moral internal reform of the existing church, conducted not by ill-informed bigots, but by an enlightened and well-educated clergy. Reuchlin died in the habit of an Augustinian monk; Erasmus directed his last shafts against Luther; Helgesen wrote his last treatise in defense of the papacy; and Sir Thomas More is now honored as a martyr and saint of the Catholic Church.

Tolerant, half-sceptical humanism surely suffered eclipse, at least temporary, in the second half of the sixteenth century. But classicism—the first fruit of the rediscovery of ancient civilization—continued to be cultivated by European intellectuals throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. And if it ceased to propagate broadmindedness in faith, it went on inspiring the form and much of the content of literature and art and influencing the formulation of some important doctrines of modern science. To these important by-products of the rediscovery of ancient civilization, we may now turn.

### C. 3. RENAISSANCE ART

It was artists as well as scholars who, from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, developed a growing interest in classical civilization and derived models from it for masterpieces of their own and subsequent generations. The chief art of the middle ages had been essentially Christian. It sprang from the doctrine and devotions of the church and was inextricably bound up with Christian life. The graceful Gothic cathedrals, pointing their roofs and airy spires in heavenly aspiration, the fantastic and mysterious carvings of wood or stone, the imaginative portraiture of saintly heroes and heroines as well as of the sublime story of the fall and redemption of the human race, the richly stained glass, and the solemn organ music—all betokened the supreme thought of medieval Christendom. But humanism recalled to men's mind the existence of an earlier art, simpler and more restrained, if less deeply spiritual in its appeal. The resulting "classicism" meant esteem for pagan culture in all its aspects.

Under classicist influence, accordingly, European art underwent a transformation in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. While much of the distinctively medieval culture remained, European civilization was enriched by a **Classicism and Art** renaissance of classical art-forms. The painters, the sculptors, and the architects now sought models not so much in their own Christian past as in the more distant past of Greece and Rome. Gradually the two lines of development were brought together, and the consequent union—the adaptation of classical art-forms to Christian uses—was marked by an outburst of artistic energy. Classicism became the fashion in all the arts—in architecture, sculpture, painting, engraving, and music.

In architecture, the straight and severely plain line of the ancient Greek temple or the elegant gentle curve of the Roman dome was substituted for the fanciful lofty Gothic. A rounded arch replaced the pointed. Flying buttresses **Architecture** were discarded. And the ancient Greek orders—Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian—were dragged from oblivion to embellish sedate symmetrical structures. The resulting "classical" or "renaissance" architecture was used for all manner of buildings, reaching perhaps its most ambitious expression in the vast

basilica of St. Peter, which was erected at Rome in the sixteenth century under the direction of such great artists as Bramante, Raphael, Michelangelo, and Palladio.<sup>1</sup>

The revival of Greek and Roman architecture, like the revival of Greek and Latin literature, had its origin in Italy; and in the cities of the peninsula, under the patronage of wealthy princes and noble families, it attained its most general acceptance. But, like literary humanism, it spread to other countries, which in turn it deeply affected. The chronic wars in which the petty Italian states were engaged throughout the sixteenth century, were attended by perpetual foreign interference. But Italy, vanquished in politics, and also in oriental trade, became the victor in art. While her towns surrendered to foreign armies, and her shippers and bankers suffered from the successful competition of western Europeans, her architects and builders subdued Christendom and brought it for a time under her artistic sway. More and more, throughout western Europe, Gothic architecture was looked upon as barbarous, and newer buildings were erected in the renaissance style.

In France, the national monarchs, especially Francis I, who led armies into Italy, took back home with them not only a great admiration for the new architecture but also a number of its Italian designers and craftsmen. Before long the renaissance style appeared in many public structures in France, among which were numerous chateaux in the valley of the Loire, and the rebuilt palace of the Louvre at Paris, begun in the last year of the reign of Francis I (1546) and to-day the home of one of the world's largest art collections.

In the second half of the sixteenth century, the renaissance architecture similarly entered Spain and received encouragement from Philip II, who especially employed it for his vast new palace of the Escorial. About the same time it manifested itself, in lesser degree, in the Netherlands and in Germany.

<sup>1</sup> Palladio (1518-1580), a close student of ancient models, was exclusively an architect and perhaps the most influential in the subsequent "classical" development of his art. In addition to his work as consultant to Pope Paul III on St. Peter's at Rome, he built the church of St. George Major at Venice and numerous palaces and villas in northern Italy. Palladio's scholarly treatise, *Four Books of Architecture*, was translated into almost every European language and exerted commanding influence on the so-called "baroque" type of seventeenth-century architecture in Italy and throughout Europe. See below, ch. xi, sec. 5.

In England, its appearance was delayed until the seventeenth century.

Sculpture is usually an attendant of architecture, and it is not surprising, therefore, that transformation of the one should be connected with change in the other. The new movement showed itself in Italian sculpture as early as the fourteenth century, owing to the influence of the ancient monuments which still abounded throughout the peninsula and to which the humanists attracted attention. In the fifteenth century archaeological discoveries were made and a special interest fostered by the Florentine family of the Medici, who not only became enthusiastic collectors of ancient works of art but promoted the scientific study of sculpture. Sculptors followed more and more closely the Greek and Roman traditions in form and often in subject as well. The plastic art of Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was strikingly akin to that of Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries before Christ.

The first great apostle of renaissance sculpture in the fifteenth century was Lorenzo Ghiberti (1378-1455), whose marvellous doors on the baptistery at Florence elicited the comment of Michelangelo that they were "worthy of being placed at the entrance of paradise." Slightly younger than Ghiberti was Donatello (1386-1466), who, among other triumphs, fashioned the realistic statue of St. Mark in Venice. Luca della Robbia (1400-1482), famed for his classic purity and simplicity of style, founded a school of sculptors in glazed terra-cotta. Elaborate tomb-monuments, the construction of which started in the fifteenth century, reached their highest magnificence in the gorgeous sixteenth-century tomb of the founder of the princely family of Visconti in Milan. Michelangelo himself was as celebrated for his sculpture as for his architecture or his painting; the heroic head of his "David" at Florence is a masterpiece of classical dignity. The form of the new sculpture was frankly borrowed from the classical, and its subjects were increasingly inspired by pagan literature. Monuments were erected to illustrious men of ancient Rome, and Greek mythology was once more carved in stone.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sculptors (and painters) of the age, in imitation of the ancients, began undressing their subjects. Medieval convention had permitted only Eve, the first

The extension of renaissance sculpture beyond Italy was even more rapid than the spread of renaissance architecture. Italian sculptors were invited to England by Henry VII, and to France by Francis I. In Spain the tomb of Ferdinand and Isabella was carved and chiselled in classical style. In Germany renaissance sculpture was prized before Luther appeared on the scene. Indeed, it was to be found everywhere in western Europe in the sixteenth century.

Painting underwent an even more significant development than sculpture. Prior to the sixteenth century, most pictures were painted directly upon the plaster walls of churches or dwellings, and were called frescoes, although some pictures were executed on wooden panels. In the sixteenth century, however, easel painting—that is, detached pictures on canvas, wood, or other material—became common, and the use of oils was mastered. With these new methods, the art of painting was perfected.

In painting, progress was not so much the result of an imitation of classical models as was the case with sculpture and architecture, for the reason that painting, being one of the most perishable of the arts, had preserved few of its ancient Greek or Roman examples. But the artists who were interested in architecture and sculpture were naturally interested also in painting; and painting, bound by fewer antique traditions, remained more distinctively Christian and reached a higher degree of perfection in the sixteenth century than did any of the allied arts.

In Italy, in the sixteenth century, flourished a galaxy of great masters of renaissance painting, of whom four are especially noteworthy—Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, Raphael, and Titian. Two of these acquired as great fame in architecture and in sculpture as in painting; the other two were primarily painters.

Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519), a Florentine by birth and training, was patronized in turn by the Sforza family of Milan, Leonardo by the Medici of Florence, and by the French royal house. His great paintings—the *Holy Supper*, and *Mona Lisa* (also called *La Gioconda*)—were masterful in art of

legendary woman, to be portrayed in her pristine nakedness; renaissance convention, on the other hand, encouraged the general use of the nude human form. Even angels, which had previously been depicted in chaste flowing robes, were now represented as naked cherubs.

composition and in science of light and shade and color. Leonardo, in fact, was a scientific painter; he carefully studied human anatomy and the problems of perspective. He was also a remarkable sculptor, as is testified by his admirable horses in relief. As an engineer, he built a canal in northern Italy and constructed fortifications about Milan. He was a musician and a philosopher as well. This many-sided man liked to toy with mechanical devices. One day when the French king visited Milan, he was met by a large mechanical lion which roared and then reared itself upon its haunches, displaying upon its breast the coat-of-arms of France: it was the work of Leonardo da Vinci. Leonardo influenced his age perhaps more than any other artist. He wrote extensively. He gathered about himself a large group of disciples. And in his last years, which he spent in France as a pensioner of Francis I, he encouraged painting in that country as in Italy.

Michelangelo (1475-1564), a Florentine like Leonardo, was probably the most wonderful of all these artists because of his triumphs in a vast variety of endeavors. It might almost be said of him that "jack of all trades, he was master of all." He was a painter of the first rank, an incomparable sculptor, a great architect, an eminent engineer, a charming poet, and a profound student of anatomy and physiology. Dividing his time between Florence and Rome, he served the Medici family and a succession of art-loving popes. With his other qualities of genius he combined austerity in morals, uprightness of character, a lively patriotism for his native city and people, a shrewd business-sense, and a proud independence. To give any idea of his achievements is impossible here. The colossal statue of David in Florence is an example of his sculpture; the basilica of St. Peter, which he practically completed, is his most enduring monument; the ceiling frescoes in the Sistine chapel in the papal palace of the Vatican, telling on a grandiose scale the Biblical story from Creation to the Flood, are marvels of his design and execution; and his grand fresco of the *Last Judgment* is probably the most famous single painting in the world.

Younger than Michelangelo and living only about half as long, Raphael (1483-1520), nevertheless, surpassed him in the harmonious beauty of painting. For sheer charm, the "divine"

Raphael stands without a peer. Raphael lived the better part of his life at Rome in the service of Popes Julius II and Leo X and spent several years in decorating the Vatican.

**Raphael** Although he was, for a time, architect of St. Peter's basilica, and although he displayed some aptitude for sculpture and for the scholarly study of archæology, it is as the greatest of sixteenth-century painters that he earned his fame. Raphael lived fortunately, always in favor, and bearing himself like a prince.

**Titian** (1477-1576) was the typical representative of the Venetian school of painting, which acquired distinction in luminous coloring. Official painter for the city of Venice and patronized both by the Emperor Charles V and by Philip II of Spain, he secured considerable wealth and fame. He was not a man of universal genius like Leonardo da Vinci or Michelangelo; his one great and supreme endowment was that of oil painting. In serenity of form and coloring, his work has never been surpassed.

From Italy as a centre, renaissance painting became the heritage of all western Europe. Italian painters were brought to France by Francis I, and French painters were paid to learn from them and to imitate them. Philip II of Spain subsidized **El Greco** renaissance painting throughout his dominions, including the work of Theotocopuli (1542-1614), a Greek, commonly called "El Greco." El Greco, after sojourning in Italy and coming under the influence of Titian, settled at Toledo in Spain and produced a large number of religious paintings in sombre settings and with curious effects of tumult and agony.<sup>1</sup> In Germany appeared two great painters, Albrecht Dürer and Hans Holbein (the "Younger").

<sup>1</sup> "El Greco" founded the so-called "Spanish" school of painting, and though not popular in his own day he acquired new distinction in the latter part of the nineteenth century as an inspirer of "modernistic" art.

Dürer (1471-1528), a native of Nuremberg, retained in his art many qualities which were markedly medieval, but he was influenced to some extent by contemporary Italians and received support and encouragement from patrons of the "new learning." The Holy Roman Emperor and Erasmus alike aided him, and he lived in fortune and honor. Though his paintings were strikingly beautiful,<sup>Dürer</sup> he earned an even greater reputation as an engraver and wood carver.<sup>He</sup> His most famous engravings, such as *The Knight and Death* and *St. Jerome in His Study*, set a high standard for following generations.

Holbein (1497-1543), who came of a famous family of painters at Augsburg, made his headquarters for some time at Basel and spent his last years in England as a pensioner of King Henry VIII. He tempered the traditional art of Germany and the Netherlands with the spirit of Italian humanism, and was one of the first northern artists to make a great reputation exclusively as a portrait painter. He painted several portraits of Erasmus and rendered unforgettable the features of Melanchthon, Sir Thomas More, Henry VIII (and several of his wives), and innumerable English lords and gentlemen.

What we call modern music, as well as modern painting, dates from the sixteenth century. But the new music, even more than the new painting, did not represent so much a revival of ancient Greek and Latin forms as a sudden great germinating of seeds which had been planted during the later middle ages. Of course, music, like painting, was affected and stimulated by the quickened art appreciation which attended the rediscovery of classical civilization, but very little antique music could be "rediscovered," and consequently, just as medieval Christian music had originally been evolved from the music of ancient Greeks, Romans, and Hebrews, so the "classical" music of the sixteenth century was an outgrowth of medieval music. It was a departure from the medieval, but a much greater departure from the ancient.

It was in the sixteenth century that several important developments occurred in music. Earlier "modes" were systematized into our "major" and "minor." Counterpoint, the accompanying of one melody with one another, and polyphony, the com-

bining of several independent voice parts in simultaneous and harmonizing union, were perfected and became fashionable. Harmony, rhythm, and symmetry were stressed.

At the same time, musical instruments were much improved, and "instrumental" music, as distinct from vocal, began its career. The simple stringed rebec, to whose strains the medieval rustic had danced, was gradually transformed, by the addition of strings and certain changes of design, into the violin.

The medieval clavichord, by increase and strengthening of its strings and by the extension of its keyboard to four octaves, was converted into the spinet (virginal) or harpsichord, precursors of the modern piano. The organ was improved and so were other wind instruments, such as the flute, bassoon, and trombone.

With better instruments and new forms and ideas, musical composition flourished. Particularly popular were vocal quartets and quintets, religious hymns and motets, and secular songs (*chansons* and *madrigals*). Composers of these types were to be found in the sixteenth century throughout Europe. They predominated perhaps in Italy and the Netherlands, though they were numerous in France and Spain. They were represented in Germany by the authors of the celebrated collection of hymns published under the auspices of Martin Luther, and in England by a notable group of musicians at the royal court, including especially William Byrd (1538-1623), John Bull (1562-1628),<sup>1</sup> and Orlando Gibbons (1583-1625).

In Italy appeared the greatest musician of the century, Palestrina (1524-1594), papal organist and choir-master, who provided the purest and most perfect models of modern ecclesiastical music. In Italy, simultaneously, developed beautiful choral renditions of religious scenes and stories, called "oratorios" from the fact that they were first given under the auspices of the monastic community of the Oratory, founded by St. Philip Neri in 1575. Italy, too, soon became the centre of the best instrumental music. Giovanni Gabrieli (1557-1613), organist of St. Mark's cathedral at Venice, was one of the founders of modern orchestration, and, by combining numerous voices with several instruments, pointed the way to the opera. Already, in

<sup>1</sup> John Bull was the author of the tune to which were later set the patriotic words of "God save the King" and "My country, 'tis of Thee."

1501, had been established at Venice the first shop for the printing of music.

#### 4. NATIONAL LITERATURES

During the middle ages, while the vernacular national languages of Europe were taking form, some great and beautiful literature had been written in Italian, Provençal, Castilian, Portuguese, German, English, and Slavic. But progress in that direction appeared to be halted in the fifteenth century by the rediscovery of classical civilization and the attendant enthusiasm for the literature of ancient Greece and Rome. A rapidly increasing number of scholars and literary men neglected their own national language and devoted themselves almost exclusively to composition of classical Latin and Greek. Petrarch wrote fine sonnets in Italian, but he was ashamed of them; his Latin letters were the writings on which he prided himself and for which he was chiefly esteemed by contemporary scholars. Petrarch's immediate successors spent their lives searching for ancient manuscripts, editing the classics, or inditing Latin epistles, orations, and epics in imitation of Horace, Cicero, or Virgil. They thought that classical Latin and Greek were the only respectable vehicles for literary expression and they consequently despised the vernaculars as uncouth and vulgar. At the beginning of the sixteenth century Erasmus was writing his great works in one or the other of the classical languages.

Classicism  
and  
Literature

This situation could hardly endure. The sixteenth century was too full of national rivalries, far-off discoveries, capitalistic activities, and social and religious unrest. There were too many commoners, as well as upper-class persons, who wished to tell or to be told something about these things and yet who knew the classics imperfectly or not at all. The sixteenth century witnessed a rapidly widening demand for national literature in the vernacular languages, and at a time when financial profits were eagerly sought from whatever source, the supply soon corresponded with the demand.

In the sixteenth century, moreover, the newly invented printing press was of incalculable service in meeting the increased demand for national literature as well as in supplying numerous modern copies of the ancient classics. Besides, the contempo-

rary study of classical grammar aroused in some persons a curiosity about the construction of vernacular language, and

**National Literature and the Invention of Printing** grammars and dictionaries began to be published in profusion. Dictionaries appeared, in the sixteenth century, for Netherlandish, Italian, and German, and, just after the close of the century, for French, Spanish, and English. In 1553 a German humanist and scientist,

Konrad von Gesner, published in Latin an account of more than a hundred spoken languages, with examples of the Lord's Prayer in twenty-two tongues; it was the first step toward comparative philology. Dictionaries and grammars, together with the printing press, helped to establish norms of literary usage for the several vernacular languages and to give truly national vogue to them.

**Diversified Content of National Literature** The content of sixteenth-century national literatures was very diversified. It comprised, for the edification of the common people, many religious treatises, devotional works, prayer-books, and biblical translations. Some of these, such as Martin Luther's German translation of the Bible, Cranmer's *Book of Common Prayer* for the Church of England, the French version of Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, and the Spanish autobiography of St. Teresa and *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius Loyola, not only met immediate needs but also constituted enduring monuments in the national literatures of Germany, England, France, and Spain. Then, too, the general religious upheaval of the sixteenth century—the rise of Protestantism and the reformation of the Catholic Church—induced the publication of a vast amount of controversial literature in the vernaculars, in order to influence or inflame the common people for or (more often) against the medieval church and its practices. Although most of this writing was without high merit and quite ephemeral, it served to widen the reading public and probably to augment the demand for other and better works in the popular tongues.

A good deal of national literature was produced during the century in the fields of politics, history, and travel, much of which was intensely patriotic, and some of which was great literature. To this category belonged, for instance, in Italian, the *Prince* and the *Florentine History* by Machiavelli, the *History of Italy* by Guicciardini, and the *Lives of Italian Artists* by Vasari; in Eng-

lish, the *Utopia* by Sir Thomas More,<sup>1</sup> and the *Principall Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation* by Richard Hakluyt; in Spanish, the *History of the Indies* by Bartolomé de las Casas, and the *History of Spain* by Mariana; and in French, the masterful exposition of political philosophy by Jean Bodin.

Certain vernacular writings of the sixteenth century were conceived in the spirit of the pagan renaissance, and born of classical humanism and the new joy of living. Some of them were masterpieces of wit and sarcasm or of unblushing pride in exploits of virility and venery. Notable among such authors were two Frenchmen: the erudite, good-humored, clever Rabelais (1490-1553), whose ever memorable *Gargantua and Pantagruel* was a gigantic burlesque of all manner of things, political, social, and religious; and the self-centred, gently mocking Montaigne (1533-1592), whose *Essays* were picturesque sermons on the text that nothing counts but one's self. There was also the brilliant Spaniard, Cervantes (1547-1616), whose *Don Quixote* was a rollicking satire on medieval chivalry and on faith in race and noble blood. As a mild example of the pornography with which the century teemed in imitation of Boccaccio and Catullus, mention may be made of the racy, spicy autobiography of the egotistical Italian goldsmith, Benvenuto Cellini (1500-1571). Here, amid pages of his passions and amours, we read of the devout complacency with which Cellini could contemplate a satisfactorily achieved homicide, and of the legion of devils which he and a conjuror evoked in the Colosseum, after one of his mistresses had been spirited away from him by her mother.

Perhaps the most famous class of literary masterpieces in the sixteenth century was that of epics and dramas. Works of this class showed clearly the influence of classicism and humanism. Their forms and plots were often borrowed from the ancients; their characters frequently bore classical names; and their scenes were sometimes laid in classical surroundings. If they did not derive from the ancient Greeks and Romans, they were apt to draw on contemporary Italy, the original seat and still the home of humanism and renaissance art. Yet, in almost every instance they evinced, in large degree, a lively national patriotism.

Epics and Dramas

<sup>1</sup> Reference is here made, of course, to the English translation, which appeared in 1551. More's *Utopia*, as first published in 1516, was in Latin.

In Italy itself, the *Orlando Furioso* of Ariosto (1474-1533) represented a fusion of ornate chivalrous romance with the style and models of classicism; and the *Jerusalem Delivered* of Tasso (1544-1595) was a bulky epic in which the manner of the pagan Virgil was adapted to a Christian crusading theme. In Portugal, the *Lusiad* of Camoëns (1524-1580) was a patriotic epic dealing with Vasco da Gama's sensational voyage to India and, as in Virgil's *Aeneid*, bringing in the pagan gods as directors of the voyage. In Spain, the innumerable dramas of Lope de Vega (1562-1635) dealt with almost every national and patriotic subject in the history of the country and a wide range of manners and customs of his own day. In England, the *Faerie Queene* of Edmund Spenser (1552-1599), utilizing the model of Ariosto, the theme of Tasso, and fancied ideals of Aristotle, was a pageant of colorful, charming poetry, not the least part of whose content was the glorification of the national monarch. The immortal plays of William Shakespeare (1564-1616), at once individualist and nationalist, medieval and modern, Italian and classical and, above all, English, constituted the most perfect summary of the life and thought of the sixteenth century, the dawn of our modern age.

##### 5. SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENT

Comparable in modern significance with the discovery of new sea routes and distant continents and with the rediscovery of far-off times and classical civilization was the contemporaneous exploration of the heavens and the whole universe of matter. Indeed, sixteenth-century Europe was distinguished for its scientists as well as for its artists and humanists; its scientists revolutionized astronomy and made important contributions to mathematics, physics, medicine, biology, and the social studies.

During the middle ages, astronomers (and astrologers) had clung to the theory of a Greek philosopher of the second century

**Astron-**  
**omy** A.D., named Ptolemy, that the Earth is the fixed and appointed centre of the universe, and that the Sun and the Moon and all the planets and all the stars are turned around the Earth with amazing velocity every twenty-four hours. This so-called "Ptolemaic system" of astronomy seemed to be in harmony with the cosmology of the Bible and to confirm everyday popular observations that the heavenly bodies rise and set while the Earth remains stationary. For centuries,

prior to the sixteenth, the Ptolemaic theory had been accepted by all Christendom as fundamental and sacred.

Nevertheless, Ptolemy's was not the only "system" which had been propounded by ancient Greek astronomers. Against the idea that the Earth is the centre of the universe (the geocentric theory) the Pythagoreans had urged the heliocentric theory, the notion that the Sun is the centre. With the rediscovery of classical civilization and the revival of Greek studies in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the "system" of the Pythagoreans was brought out of obscurity and ably championed. Its foremost advocate, the true founder of modern astronomy, was Copernicus (1473-1543).

Copernicus was a Polish priest, who divided his time between ecclesiastical labor and private research in the classics, mathematics, and astronomy. It was during a ten-year sojourn in Italy at the beginning of the sixteenth century, while studying canon law and medicine, and familiarizing himself, through humanistic teachers, with ancient Greek astronomers, that he began to question the Ptolemaic system and to seek a mathematically sounder substitute. Thenceforth, for many years, he reflected and computed and made such observations of the heavens as his poor eyesight and few instruments permitted. In the year of his death (1543) the results were published in Latin to the learned world. His book —*On the Revolutions of the Celestial Bodies*—was dedicated to Pope Paul III and fortified with elaborate mathematical calculations. It undertook to demonstrate the truth of the hypothesis that the Earth is not the centre of the universe but simply one of a number of planets which revolve around the Sun. In the "Copernican system," the Earth was assigned a much less important place than in the "Ptolemaic system," and man's supreme position among created things appeared to be threatened at the very time when European man was puffed up with the "new learning," the "New World," and the "new wealth." No wonder that the book of Copernicus excited lively curiosity and livelier opposition.

For purposes of combating, as well as confirming, the revolutionary hypothesis of Copernicus, European astronomers in the second half of the sixteenth century applied themselves most diligently to observation and to the improvement of physical instruments and mathematical computations which might be helpful to observation. One of the most

Coperni-  
cus

Tycho  
Brahe

interesting of these new scientific astronomers was Tycho Brahe (1546-1601), a Dane, who, with the encouragement and financial assistance of his national monarch, King Frederick II, established on an island in the Baltic, midway between Denmark and Sweden, an amazing laboratory—he called it Uraniborg, or “Castle of the Heavens”—comprising several observatories, a library, shops for making instruments, a paper mill, a printing press, and living quarters for the numerous staff and workmen. Here, for twenty-one years, Tycho systematically collected materials for the testing of astronomical theories. He himself was conservative and vain. He hoped to effect a compromise between Ptolemaic and Copernican systems, whereby the Earth might retain an honored central position in the heavens. His arrogance eventually cost him the patronage of the king of Denmark, and the last year of his life he spent at Prague in the employ of the Holy Roman Emperor.

So effective were the astronomical researches of the sixteenth century that just after its close two great scientists were enabled to give decisive support to the Copernican hypothesis and to make it the cornerstone of modern astronomy. One was Kepler (1571-1630), a German, and the other was Galileo (1564-1642), an Italian.

Kepler, after teaching astronomy in a German university and becoming associated at Prague with Tycho Brahe, fell heir to

**Kepler**      Tycho's instruments and records and succeeded him as official astronomer to the Holy Roman Emperor. Kepler was perhaps not as good an observer as Tycho, but he was a better mathematician and possessed superior philosophic insight. He entertained, it is true, many fantastic and mystical theories concerning “the harmony of the spheres,” and he was willing, with tongue in his cheek, to cater to the prejudices and superstitions of the day by casting horoscopes for the emperor and other eminent gentlemen. Yet by applying his mathematical genius to Tycho's and his own observations, he was able not only to confirm the general credibility of the Copernican system but also to establish several detailed conclusions, such as those regarding the form and magnitude of the planetary orbits. Kepler made it clear that the Earth and the other planets revolve about the Sun in elliptical rather than circular paths.

Galileo was a great scientist in several fields, in mathematics,

mechanics, and optics, as well as in astronomy; he was also a learned classical scholar, a good musician, and a gifted writer. His principal contribution to astronomy was his painstaking demonstration and brilliant popularization of the Copernican hypothesis. His charming lectures at the university of Padua, where he taught from 1592 to 1610, were so largely attended that a hall seating two thousand had to be provided. In 1609 he perfected a telescope, which, although hardly more powerful than a present-day opera glass, showed unmistakably that the Sun was turning on its axis, that Jupiter was attended by revolving moons, and that, by analogy, the essential truth of the Copernican system was proved. Unfortunately for Galileo, his enthusiastic desire to convert the church immediately to the new astronomy got him into trouble with the pope and the ecclesiastical court of the Inquisition. This court in 1616 characterized the proposition that the Sun is the centre of the universe as "absurd in philosophy, and formally heretical, because expressly contrary to Holy Scripture," and the proposition that the Earth rotates every day on its axis as "open to the same censure in philosophy, and at least erroneous as to faith"; and in 1632 Galileo was tried by the court for espousing the condemned propositions and found guilty. Galileo, during the last years of his life, was kept under close ecclesiastical surveillance, but had he lived another hundred years he would have rejoiced that all learned men—popes included—had accepted the great astronomical revolution and become "Copernicans."<sup>1</sup>

It is noteworthy that the increasing astronomical knowledge of the sixteenth century made it possible for Pope Gregory XIII in 1582 to reform the so-called Julian calendar, which had been used by Christendom since ancient Roman times. In order to maintain the exact solar year, Gregory decreed that the calendar should be moved back by ten days and that the extra leap-year day should be omitted from all centenary years (such as 1700) except those which

Galileo

The  
Gregorian  
Calendar

<sup>1</sup> The condemnation of the Copernican system by the court of the Inquisition was never confirmed by the pope and was virtually repealed in 1757 under Pope Benedict XIV. It should be borne in mind, moreover, that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries not only many clergymen, Protestant as well as Catholic, were hostile to the Copernican system but that many intellectual laymen, including Bodin, Montaigne, Shakespeare, Francis Bacon, Pascal, and Milton, assailed or disbelieved it.

are multiples of 400. This reformed, or "Gregorian," calendar was at once adopted by Catholic countries, and subsequently by Protestant and other nations. England, for example, accepted it in 1751, and Russia in 1922.

The "new astronomy" of the sixteenth century was inspired, as we have seen, by the rediscovery of classical civilization. Copernicus was to astronomy what Columbus was to geography, and Copernicus was peculiarly indebted to the ancient Greeks. On other scientific advances of the time, however, the influence of classicism and humanism was not so marked. Indeed, it may truthfully be said that the intellectual quickening of Europe in the sixteenth century was less a novel product of classical studies than a natural development of medieval science under the practical stimulus of contemporary happenings in geography, warfare, and finance.

This was especially true of the almost revolutionary progress of mathematics. Mathematicians of the middle ages had inherited the arithmetic and geometry of ancient Greeks and Romans and had learned from the Moslems the elements of algebra and the use of Arabic numerals. On such knowledge, mathematicians of the sixteenth century built magnificently, but they built not with old blocks quarried out of antiquity but with new materials piled up by their own era. To prove the truth or falsity of the current Copernican hypothesis, to satisfy the current demand for calendar-reform, to compute the range of fire of the new artillery, to secure the greatest effectiveness and at the same time the greatest economy of the new national fortifications and warships, and to simplify and expedite the accounts of the new bankers, merchants, and capitalists, were ends which mathematics could serve in the sixteenth century much more naturally than at any earlier time. And toward these ends, mathematicians labored quite realistically, and with amazing success, from the date of the invention of printing in the fifteenth century to the date of the invention of logarithms early in the seventeenth century.

In Italy, Tartaglia (1506-1559) and Cardan (1501-1576) vied with each other in solving cubic equations. Tartaglia, who suffered throughout life from mutilation which he received as a boy at the hands of French military invaders, wrote scientific treatises on the mathematics of gunnery and fortification, the

latter of which he dedicated to Henry VIII of England. Cardan, a physician by vocation and something of a rogue by nature, helped the pope and the king of Denmark with practical mathematical advice, cast horoscopes for a Scottish archbishop and an English monarch, and reckoned the calculus of possibilities as a support to his own propensity for gambling.

In the Netherlands, Stevinus (1548-1620), at first a merchant's clerk and later a travelling commercial agent and advisor to the Prince of Orange, wrote a classic on decimal fractions, advocated a decimal system of coinage, weights, and measures, and prepared useful studies of military science. His practical advice on ways and means of keeping detailed impersonal accounts had considerable effect on the book-keeping of the national governments of the Netherlands and France.

Simultaneously, in various European countries, mathematicians were working out a compact and adequate symbolism for arithmetical and algebraic calculation, including such signs as +, ÷, ×, −, =, ( ), and  $\sqrt{\phantom{x}}$ , and the modern devices for indicating fractions and exponents. In geometry, they were carrying the computation of  $\pi$  to many decimals. They were also foreshadowing the integral calculus and reckoning trigonometric tables. In Scotland, John Napier (1550-1617) invented logarithms and was the first to use the decimal point.

Similar utilitarian aims actuated remarkable sixteenth-century progress in mechanics and physics. An Italian, Porta (1540-1615), devised a "magic lantern" and interspersed some acute reflections with a good deal of nonsense in his encyclopedic physical works, *On the Miracles of Nature* and *Natural Magic*. A Netherlander, Jansen, made probably the first compound microscope in 1590, and telescopes appeared shortly afterwards in Italy, the Netherlands, and England.<sup>1</sup> An Englishman, William Gilbert (1540-1603), experimented with magnetic bodies and noticed and named

Me-  
chanics  
and  
Physics

<sup>1</sup> Galileo has often been credited with the invention of the telescope. He certainly was the first to make great practical use of it. But it appears to have been invented in the Netherlands about the year 1600, and, independently, a little earlier, by Leonard Digges in England. Its principle was known to Roger Bacon in the thirteenth century, and its theory was extensively explained by Kepler in 1611.

certain phenomena as "electric."<sup>1</sup> But the greatest physicist of the age was the famous Italian astronomer, Galileo.

Galileo invented the air thermometer and the hydrostatic balance and constructed an astronomical clock. He studied the phenomena of motion and sound. He recognized that sound is an undulation in the air and that its tone is due to the different length of the several waves. He demonstrated the falsity of the Aristotelian notion that heavy bodies fall with velocities proportional to their weights. In his celebrated *Discourses and Mathematical Demonstrations concerning Two New Sciences* he summed up his achievements and speculations and laid firm foundations for the modern development of mechanics, "the science dealing with the resistance which solid bodies offer to fracture," and dynamics, "the science treating of motion."

The impetus which the contemporary rise of capitalism gave to practical, large-scale mining served likewise to give rise to

**Metal-** the science of metallurgy. Here the pioneer was a  
**lurgy** German known best by his latinized name of Agricola

(1490-1555). Agricola, as a youthful prodigy, threw himself into pursuit of the "new learning" and at the age of twenty was teaching Greek and writing on philology. But as he grew older, he found less satisfaction in ancient classics than in modern medicine, physics, and chemistry; and, after taking a medical degree in Italy, he settled in mining communities, first in Bavaria and subsequently in Bohemia. He earned his money by the practice of medicine and spent it on researches in metallurgy. In his epochal *Twelve Books on Metals* he outlined and systematized his observations, indicated methods of estimating the amount of metal in particular kinds of ore, and first described the production of steel by the puddling process.

In medicine, there was relatively less progress during the sixteenth century, probably in part because there had been

**Medicine** relatively greater progress during the middle ages, and probably in part because the "new learning" appealed particularly to physicians and tended to make them rely too much on what ancient Greek doctors, especially Hippocrates

<sup>1</sup> Gilbert's volume on magnetism was published in 1600. The word "electricity" first appeared in Sir Thomas Browne's *Pseudodoxia*, published in 1646.

and Galen, had said. The revived study of Galen led to some interesting observations and developments. Two Italian professors, Eustachio and Falloppio, added certain details to anatomical knowledge and bequeathed their names to modern physiology. A Spaniard, Servetus, noted and described the pulmonary circulation of the blood. An Italian, Frascatoro, advanced the theory, then incapable of demonstration without the microscope and long afterwards of little effect, that diseases are caused by living organisms endowed with the power of propagating themselves. Another Italian, Santorio, shortly after the close of the sixteenth century adapted Galileo's thermometer to the measuring of the temperature of the body and devised apparatus for comparing the rate of pulse beats.

Special fame attaches to certain medical men of the sixteenth century who reacted against contemporary classicism and repudiated the "authority" of ancient Greek physicians. One curious example of this kind was <sup>Paracel-</sup>*Theophrastus Bombast von Hohenheim (1493-1541)*, who wrote under the name of Paracelsus ("greater than Celsus"), and who wrote so pompously that his middle name "Bombast" has found its way into all modern languages as a synonym for pomposity in expression. Paracelsus was a Swiss German, the son of a poor country physician and of a hospital-superintendent. He had just enough university education to be convinced that full-fledged doctors leaned too heavily on Galen and were inferior to himself; and during an extended sojourn in the Tyrol mines owned by the Fugger family, he learned to study first-hand the diseases which attacked the miners and to gather a mass of useful and miscellaneous information. He was literally bombastic in his attacks on Galen; he was quarrelsome, superstitious, and much given to visionary philosophy; and he was denounced by the leading practitioners of the age as a "quack." But he constantly held up the great ideal of medicine as an experimental science, and he emphasized the close relationship between medicine and chemistry. He believed that the operations in the body are of a chemical character and that when disordered they are to be put right by counter operations of

the same kind. He had an idea of the medicinal utility of metals and mineral springs.

Another and more esteemed medical innovator was Vesalius (1514-1564), a Netherlander, who studied medicine at the universities of Louvain, Paris, and Padua. Appointed professor at Padua, he began his teaching as a disciple of Galen, but when he came to practice dissection he noted errors in Galen's writings and decided that henceforth he would rely less upon them than upon his own observations. He denounced the time-honored custom of leaving surgery to barbers<sup>1</sup> and emphasized the need for the thorough study of anatomy as the basis for the scientific training of both surgeons and physicians. His own treatise on anatomy, published in the same year as Copernicus's great work on astronomy, was a significant monument in the history of medical science. It treated, in seven books, of the skeleton, cartilage and muscles, veins and arteries, digestive and reproductive systems, lungs, brain and head. Vesalius was appointed court physician to the Emperor Charles V and died on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

Towards the close of the sixteenth century appeared an English physician, William Harvey (1578-1657), who was to make a prime contribution to medical science. Harvey was educated in England at the university of Cambridge, and in Italy, under the guidance of a disciple of Falloppio, at the university of Padua, whence he took his medical degree in 1602. Returning to England, he became a professor in the London College of Physicians and Surgeons and attending physician in a London hospital. He was particularly interested in studies of the heart and the blood, and in 1628 he made known to the learned world his discovery of the circulation of the blood from the heart to the arteries and thence to the veins and back to the heart.<sup>2</sup>

Contemporary with Harvey was a physician of the Nether-

<sup>1</sup> Yet barber-surgeons of the sixteenth century made some significant contributions of their own to modern surgical art. For example, Ambroise Paré (1510-1590), gaining much practical experience from attending soldiers in the French army, invented ingenious artificial limbs and improved the method of treating gunshot wounds.

<sup>2</sup> Harvey did not know of the capillary channels by which the blood passes from the arteries to the veins. This gap in his information was supplied in 1661 by an Italian physician, Malpighi. See below, ch. xi, sec. 1.

lands, J. B. van Helmont (1577-1644), who made some important contributions to the science of chemistry. He was the first to understand that there are gases distinct in kind from atmospheric air. He invented the word "gas." He distinguished carbon dioxide, which he called "gas sylvestre." He dimly recognized the principle of the indestructibility of matter. Following critically in the footsteps of Paracelsus, he held that undue acidity may be corrected by alkalies, and *vice versa*.

Several physicians of the sixteenth century became interested in comparative anatomy and laid the foundations for the modern sciences of botany and zoölogy. William Turner, physician to King Edward VI of England, and Andrea Cesalpino, professor at Pisa and physician to Pope Clement VIII, studied botany and wrote treatises on plants. Pierre Belon, a French physician, examined hundreds of species of birds and fishes. The greatest naturalist of the age, however, was a Swiss German, Conrad von Gesner (1516-1565), whose name has already been noted in connection with the beginnings of comparative philology. Gesner obtained a medical degree from a French university and spent most of his life in Switzerland, practicing his profession but lecturing on physics and devoting himself chiefly to the observation and classification of local flora and fauna. His *Catalogue of Plants* was a valuable contribution to scientific botany, and the four volumes of his *History of Animals* were the starting-point for modern progress in zoölogy.

It was not alone in the natural sciences that the sixteenth century was important. Scientific development was manifest likewise in those intellectual pursuits which nowadays we term the "social sciences." "Scientific" history began, as we have already pointed out, with the collecting, criticizing, and editing of manuscripts and source-materials, on which the classical revival put a premium. "Scientific" politics was exemplified by such incisive writings as those of Machiavelli and Bodin. "Scientific" philology was foreshadowed by Conrad von Gesner. At the very end of the century there was a quickening interest in the theory of national wealth, a faint dawn of "scientific" economics.<sup>1</sup>

Of all the social sciences, it was natural, in view of the century's

Botany  
and  
Zoölogy

The  
Social  
Sciences

<sup>1</sup> For later developments of social science. see below, ch. xi, sec. 4.

overwhelming interest in overseas exploration and commerce, **Geography**, that geography should receive chief attention and make the greatest strides. And of the numerous "scientific" geographers of the sixteenth century, undoubtedly the foremost was Gerhard Kremer (1512-1594), a Netherlander and best known by his Latin name of Mercator. Mercator studied at the university of Louvain, and at Louvain he founded a celebrated geographical laboratory and drafting establishment. He was patronized successively by the Emperor Charles V and various German princes, for whose military campaigns he prepared maps and sketches. But his main contributions to geographical science were the freeing of Europeans from the tyranny of ancient Greek and Roman geographers, especially from Ptolemy, the manufacture of instruments and detailed maps of fine quality, and the invention of the so-called "Mercator's projection," the representation of the globe, or parts of it, on rectangular paper by drawing the parallels and meridians at right angles.

The whole intellectual quickening of the sixteenth century involved much intellectual ferment, and in the midst of this ferment, complicated as it was by the simultaneous religious upheaval in Europe, emerged new philosophies whose exponents put special emphasis on "modern" science. One preacher of peculiarly "modern" philosophy was Giordano Bruno (1548-1600), an intemperate, provocative Italian. Beginning his stormy career as a Dominican monk but speedily falling under the spell of whatever seemed novel and revolutionary in current hypothesis and criticism, Bruno fled from Rome and monastic life and sought refuge in foreign countries and intellectual radicalism. He espoused the Copernican astronomy with ardor. He assailed any kind of anthropomorphic religion. He put the Hebrew scriptures on a level with pagan myths. He jeered at miracles as nothing but magical tricks. On the other hand, he conceived of nature as embodying and expressing the divine, and the whole universe as controlled by immutable laws which are divine because they are natural.

Such an attempt to combine the "modern science" with a new religion of pantheism could hardly be popular in the sixteenth century, and Bruno led a fugitive and harassed existence. For a brief time he enjoyed the favor of the French king and lec-

tured on astronomy at Toulouse and on philosophy at Paris, and through the good offices of the French ambassador in London he was enabled to spend two years in England. But he was always restless, and both ardent Protestants and zealous Catholics made him more so. He was repelled from Geneva by the Calvinists, and the Lutherans were inhospitable to him at Wittenberg. Venturing to return to Italy, he was arrested by the Catholic Inquisition, imprisoned for seven years, and finally burned at the stake in Rome.

Another and less revolutionary effort to philosophize about natural science was made by a distinguished Englishman, Francis Bacon (1561-1626), son of a country gentleman, student at the university of Cambridge, lawyer, <sup>Lord</sup> <sup>Bacon</sup> and lord chancellor of the realm under King James I.<sup>1</sup>

While studying at the university from 1573 to 1576 he developed an absorbing interest in the physical sciences and learned to despise the Aristotelian philosophy. This, in his opinion, was serviceable only for debate, and a substitute must be found which would forward natural science and real knowledge. Thenceforth, through a busy, ambitious life of self-seeking for fame, wealth, and public office, Bacon found time to produce a series of great philosophic works, including the *Essays*, the *Advancement of Learning*, the *Novum Organum*, and the *New Atlantis*, the last-named a description of an ideal commonwealth in which the principles of the "new philosophy" are carried out by political machinery and under state guidance. The "new philosophy," according to Bacon, must be inductive, experimental, and utilitarian. It must be based on the latest findings of natural science; it must be conducted and guided by observation and experiment, and its true end must be altogether practical. Science is all-important to philosophy and future well-being. Science, as Bacon said in the *Novum Organum*, will "extend more widely the limits of the power and greatness of man."

It must not be supposed that the scientific development of the sixteenth century was as revolutionary as Bacon and Bruno imagined or that it controlled all the thoughts and actions of its

<sup>1</sup> Francis Bacon is commonly called Lord Bacon. He was given the title of Baron Verulam in 1618 and that of Viscount St. Albans in 1621. In 1621 the House of Lords found him guilty of receiving bribes in judicial cases over which he presided as lord chancellor.

devotees, to say nothing of the thoughts and actions of the masses. A Bruno and a Bacon, and most of the humanistically inclined scientists of the sixteenth century, were too scornful of the middle ages to do justice to the slow gradual evolution of man's knowledge of the material universe which had been going on pretty continuously ever since the ancient days of Greece, and they jumped to conclusions—typically “modern” conclusions—that their own ideas had never previously been entertained, that their own age was far in advance of all earlier ages, and that what is latest is best.

At the same time many of these new scientists were almost if not quite as “superstitious” as any of their predecessors, or, *Survival of Magic and Superstition* at any rate, they were quite as willing to exploit popular superstitions for their own financial profit. Tycho Brahe was something of a charlatan. Kepler made money by practicing magic and casting horoscopes. All the mathematicians of the age and most of the physicians were credulous as well as inquisitive.

On the fringe of scientific development there continued to flourish in the sixteenth century, among kings and princes and commoners, the traditional arts of astrology and alchemy. It was still popularly believed that the baser metals could be magically transmuted into gold and that the course of human events could be directed by precious stones, and many a sixteenth-century explorer risked life and limb in search of Eldorado and the fountain of perpetual youth.<sup>1</sup> It was still widely held that the stars in the heavens exerted direct and arbitrary influence upon human character and events and that one should engage in no important undertaking without consulting a star-gazer.<sup>2</sup> Charles V and Francis I, great rivals in war, bid against each other for the services of the most eminent astrologers. Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, the kings of Denmark and Spain, Catherine de Medici,

<sup>1</sup> A French potter and geologist, Bernard Palissy, denied the possibility of the transmutation of metals in a work which he published in 1580, and the English dramatist Ben Jonson poked fun at alchemists in a play first acted in 1610 and printed in 1612.

<sup>2</sup> Pope Sixtus V in 1586 condemned the casting of horoscopes and directed the court of the Inquisition to proceed against anyone who should practice incantations or divinations or foretell the future. A French law of 1628 forbade the insertion in almanacs of all predictions except those relating to the weather, the phases of the moon, and eclipses. For some time, these measures were honored more in the breach than in the observance.

and wealthy merchants and bold sea-captains seemed never to tire of reading horoscopes.

Besides, it was during the second half of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth, the era of scientific development, that witchcraft flourished as never before in the world's history and the hunt for witches became endemic in Europe and the New World. Even such an enlightened lawyer and philosopher as Jean Bodin argued at length for the reality of witchcraft and for the burning of witches. (More is said about this delusion on pages 210-211, below.)

After making full allowance, however, for the gullibility of human beings in the sixteenth century and throughout all our modern times, it appears to be uncontested that science has been both more objective and more practical in our age than in antiquity or in the middle ages. To this outcome the scientific development of the sixteenth century contributed, and it deserves, therefore, an honorable place among the other factors which prompted the intellectual quickening of Europe—the invention of printing, the rediscovery of classical civilization, the development of renaissance art and national literatures.



## CHAPTER IV

### THE RELIGIOUS UPHEAVAL

#### I. CHRISTIANITY AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY



HEN printing was invented, America discovered, and Copernicus born, the vast mass of Europeans were Christians, and those who lived in central and western Europe were members of the Catholic Christian Church.<sup>1</sup> It was then generally held, just as it had been held in all earlier centuries, that a common religious faith and a common moral code were essential to civilization and that every individual should subordinate private judgment and personal wishes to the cause of religious unity. The peoples of Europe had at that time the same conviction about organized religion which we to-day have about organized politics. They believed in the necessity of the church, as we believe in the necessity of the state.

The Catholic Church in 1500  
For centuries prior to the sixteenth, the Catholic Church had occupied a position in most European countries which no religious organization holds to-day. (1) Every child of Christian parents was born into the church almost as literally as he is now born into a state; every professed Christian was expected to conform, at least outwardly, to the doctrine and observances of the church. (2) The church was official and public, not private and purely voluntary; it was supported not by free-will offerings, but by compulsory taxes. (3) Each state undertook to enforce obedience on the

<sup>1</sup> Those who lived in Russia and the majority of the inhabitants of Greece and the Balkan peninsula were members of the Orthodox Church, which, though resembling the Catholic Church in most respects, rejected the headship of the pope. Latterly, with the invasions and conquests of the Ottoman Turks, Moslems had become an influential minority in southeastern Europe, and a Moslem minority still persisted in southwestern Europe, that is, in Spain and Portugal. In these regions, and elsewhere in Europe, especially in Poland and Germany, dwelt sizeable groups of Jews. For a map of Christendom in 1500, see below, p. 191.

part of its subjects to the church; a person attacking the authority of the church was liable to punishment by the state, and this held true in England and Germany as well as in Spain or Italy.

Nowadays the word "Christian" is used in vague and loose ways. It may still denote a member of the Catholic Church, but, quite as often, it may indicate an Episcopalian, a Presbyterian, a Congregationalist, or a person who is reputed to honor in some manner the founder of Christianity but is known to adhere to no ecclesiastical organization, or merely a person who is not a Jew or a Moslem. Such a subjective or negative use of the word "Christian" would have been unthinkable at the beginning of modern times. The word then meant to everybody something positive and objective. It meant formal adherence to a recognized body of historic teachings. All over central and western Europe—from Lithuania to Ireland and from Finland to Italy—it was synonymous with "Catholic Christian."

Catholic Christianity embraced a definite faith in Jesus Christ as the Man-God, an acceptance of certain standards of personal and social behavior which had been derived from the teachings of Jesus, and a recognition of the divine origin and character of the Catholic Church. The church, it was believed, had been founded by Jesus Christ in order to teach and interpret, till the end of time, His true religion and His pure morals. By means of the church, man would know best how to order his life in this world and how to prepare his soul for everlasting happiness in the world to come.

Hence the Catholic Church was conceived of as a vast human society, resting on divine foundation and sanction, and conducting a mission greater and more lofty than that of any other society. It was a "perfect" society, whose members and officers, for its own purposes, were deemed independent of any political power. The members of the church were the sum-total of all persons who had been baptized—almost the whole population of western and central Europe—and its officers constituted a universally governing hierarchy.

At the head of the hierarchy was the bishop of Rome, styled the pope or sovereign pontiff or vicar of Christ, who for centuries had been regarded as the successor of St. Peter, the prince of the apostles. The bishop of Rome was elected for life by a

group of clergymen, called cardinals, who originally had been in direct charge of certain churches in the city of Rome but who latterly were selected by the pope from various countries because they were distinguished churchmen. The organization of the Church pope chose the cardinals; the cardinals elected the pope. Some of the cardinals, especially Italian cardinals, took up their residence at Rome and, in conjunction with a host of clerks, translators, lawyers, and other officials, comprised the *curia*, or papal court, which assisted the pope in the conduct of general church business.

For the local administration of church affairs, the Catholic world was divided under the pope into several territorial subdivisions. (1) The patriarchates, almost wholly honorary, were under patriarchs, who had their sees<sup>1</sup> in such ancient Christian centres as Rome, Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople. Honorary patriarchates were established at Venice in the fifteenth century and subsequently at Lisbon and in the West Indies. (2) The provinces were divisions of the patriarchates and usually centred in the most important cities, such as Milan, Florence, Cologne, Vienna, Lyons, Seville, Upsala, Canterbury, York; the head of each was styled a metropolitan or archbishop. (3) The diocese—the most essential unit of local administration—was a subdivision of the province, commonly a city or a town, with a certain amount of surrounding country, under the immediate supervision of a bishop.<sup>2</sup> (4) Smaller divisions, particularly parishes, were to be found in every diocese, embracing a village or a section of a city, and each parish had its church building and its priest. Thus the Catholic Church possessed a veritable army of officials from pope and cardinals down through patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops, to the parish priests and their assistants, the deacons. This hierarchy, because it labored *in the world (sæcula)*, was called the "secular clergy."

Another variety of clergy—the "regulars"—supplemented the

<sup>1</sup> "See," so-called from the Latin *sedes*, refers to the seat or chair of office. Similarly our word "cathedral" is derived from the Latin *cathedra*, the official chair which the bishop occupies in his own church.

<sup>2</sup> The occupant of the oldest diocese or province in a given country usually bore the honorary title of "primate," and his see was called the "primatial see" of that country. Thus, Canterbury was the primatial see of England; Arles, of France; Armagh, of Ireland; Toledo, of Spain, etc.

work of the seculars. The regulars were monks,<sup>1</sup> that is, Christians who lived by a special rule (*regula*), who renounced the world, took vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, and strove to imitate the life of Christ as literally as possible. The regular clergy were organized under their own abbots, priors, provincials, or generals, being usually exempt from secular jurisdiction, except that of the pope. The regulars were the principal missionaries of the church, and most charitable and educational institutions were in their hands.

Among the various orders of monks which had grown up in the course of time, the following should be enumerated: (1) The monks who lived in fixed abodes, tilled the soil, copied manuscripts, and conducted local schools. Most of the monks of this kind followed a rule, or society by-laws, which had been prepared by the celebrated St. Benedict about the year 525: they were therefore called Benedictines. (2) The monks who organized crusades, often bore arms themselves, and tended the holy places connected with incidents in the life of Christ: such orders were the Knights Hospitallers of St. John and of Malta, and the Teutonic Knights who subsequently undertook the conversion of the Slavs and established themselves as military rulers of Prussia. (3) The monks who were called the begging friars or mendicants because they had no fixed abode but wandered from place to place, preaching to the common people and depending for their own living upon alms. These orders came into prominence in the thirteenth century and included, among others, the Franciscan, whose lovable founder St. Francis of Assisi had urged humility and love of the poor as its distinguishing characteristics, and the Dominican, or Order of the Preachers, devoted by the precept of its practical founder, St. Dominic, to missionary zeal. All the mendicant orders, as well as the Benedictine monasteries, became famous in the history of education, and the majority of the distinguished scholars of the middle ages were monks. It was not uncommon, moreover, for regulars to enter the secular hierarchy and thus become parish priests or bishops, or even popes.

<sup>1</sup> The word "monk" is applied, of course, only to men; women who followed similar rules are commonly styled nuns. All are sometimes referred to as "religious."

The clergy—bishops, priests, and deacons—constituted, in popular belief, the divinely ordained administration of the Catholic Church. The legislative authority in the church was vested in the pope and in general council, neither of which, however, might set aside a law of God, as affirmed in the gospels, or establish a doctrine at variance with the tradition of the early Christian writers. A general council was an assembly of prelates of the Catholic world, and there had been considerable discussion as to the relative authority of its decrees and the decisions and directions of the pope.<sup>1</sup> General church councils had been convened in eastern Europe from the fourth to the ninth century and had issued important decrees or canons defining Christian dogmas and establishing ecclesiastical discipline, which had been subsequently ratified and promulgated by the pope as by other bishops and by the emperors; and several councils had been held in western Europe from the twelfth to the fourteenth century under the direct supervision of the bishop of Rome, all the canons of which had been enacted in accordance with his wishes.

Early in the fifteenth century a movement had been inaugurated by certain bishops and scholars in favor of making the councils superior to the pope and a regular source of supreme legislation for the church. In this way, the councils of Constance (1414–1418) and Basel (1431 ff.) had endeavored to introduce representative, if not democratic, government into the church. The popes, however, objected to this “conciliar movement” and managed to have it condemned by the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–1442). By the year 1500 the papal theory had seemingly triumphed and the peoples of western and central Europe generally recognized that the government of the church was essentially monarchical. The laws of the Catholic Church were known as canons, and, of several codes of canon law which had been prepared, that of a monk named Gratian, compiled in the twelfth century, was the most widely used.

We are now in a position to summarize the claims and prerogatives of the bishop of Rome, or pope. (1) He was the supreme ecclesiastical lawgiver. He could issue decrees of his own, which might not be set aside by any other person. No council

<sup>1</sup> Papal documents have been called by various names, such as *decretals*, *bulls*, or *encyclicals*.

might enact canons without his approval. From any law, other than divine, he might dispense persons. (2) He was the supreme judge in Christendom. He claimed that appeals might be taken from decisions in foreign courts to his own curia, as court of last resort. He himself frequently acted as arbitrator, as, for example, in the famous dispute between Spain and Portugal concerning the boundaries of their newly discovered possessions.<sup>1</sup> (3) He was the supreme ecclesiastical administrator. He claimed the right to supervise the general business of the whole church. No archbishop might perform the functions of his office until he received his insignia—the pallium—from the pope. No bishop might be canonically installed until his election had been confirmed by the pope. The pope claimed the right to transfer a bishop from one diocese to another and to settle all disputed elections. He exercised immediate control over the regular clergy—the monks and nuns. He sent ambassadors, styled legates, to represent him at the various royal courts and to see that his instructions were obeyed. (4) He insisted upon certain temporal rights, as distinct from his directly spiritual prerogatives. He crowned the Holy Roman Emperor. He might depose an emperor or king and release a ruler's subjects from their oath of allegiance. He might declare null and void, and forbid the people to obey, a law of any state, if he thought it was injurious to the interests of the church. He was temporal ruler of the city of Rome and the surrounding papal states, and over these territories he exercised a power similar to that of any duke or king. (5) He claimed financial powers. In order to defray the enormous expenses of his government, he charged fees for certain services at Rome, assessed the dioceses throughout the Catholic world, and levied a small tax—Peter's pence—upon all Christian householders.

So far we have concerned ourselves with the organization of the Catholic Church—its membership, its officers, the clergy, secular and regular, all culminating in the pope, the bishop of Rome. But why did this great institution exist? Why had it long been loved, venerated, and well served?. The purpose of the church, according to its own teaching, was to follow the instructions of its divine founder, Jesus Christ, in saving souls. Only the church might

The  
Mission  
of the  
Church

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 76.

interpret those instructions; the church alone might apply the means of salvation; outside the church no one could be saved.<sup>1</sup> The salvation of souls for eternity was thus the supreme business of the church.

This salvation of souls involved a theology and a sacramental system, which we shall briefly explain. Theology was the study of God. It sought to explain how and why man was created, what were his actual and desirable relations with God, what would be the fate of man in a future life. The most famous theologians of the Catholic Church, for example, St. Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274), studied the teachings of Christ, the Bible, the early Christian writings, and the decrees of popes and councils, and drew therefrom elaborate explanations of Christian theology—the faith and morals of the Catholic Church.

The vital part of Catholic theology was the sacramental system, for that was the means, and essentially the only means, of saving souls. It was therefore for the purpose of the sacramental system that the church and its hierarchy existed. The sacraments were defined as "outward signs instituted by Christ to give grace." The number generally accepted was seven: baptism, confirmation, holy eucharist, penance, extreme unction, holy orders, and matrimony. By means of the sacraments the church accompanied the faithful throughout life. (1) Baptism, the pouring of water, cleansed the child from original sin and from all previous actual sins, and made him a Christian, a child of God, and an heir of heaven. The priest was the ordinary minister of baptism, but in case of necessity anyone who had the use of reason might baptize. (2) Confirmation, conferred usually by the bishop upon young persons by the laying on of hands and the anointing with oil, gave them the Holy Ghost to render them strong and perfect Christians

<sup>1</sup> Catholic theologians have recognized, however, the possibility of salvation of persons outside the visible church. Thus, the catechism of Pope Pius X says: "Whoever, without any fault of his own, and in good faith, being outside the church, happens to have been baptized or to have at least an implicit desire for baptism, and, furthermore, has been sincere in seeking to find the truth, and has done his best to do the will of God, such an one, although separated from the body of the church, would still belong to her soul, and therefore be in the way of salvation."

and soldiers of Jesus Christ. (3) Penance, one of the most important sacraments, was intended to forgive sins committed after baptism. To receive the sacrament of penance worthily it was necessary for the penitent (a) to examine his conscience, (b) to have sorrow for his sins, (c) to make a firm resolution never more to offend God, (d) to confess his mortal sins orally to a priest, (e) to receive absolution from the priest, and (f) to accept the particular penance—visitation of churches, saying of certain prayers, or almsgiving—which the priest might enjoin. These particular penances were termed “good works.”

(4) The holy eucharist was the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, the consecration of bread and wine by priest or bishop, its miraculous transformation (transubstantiation) at his word into the very Body and Blood of Christ, and its reception by the faithful. It was around the eucharist that the elaborate ritual and ceremonies of the Mass developed, that fine vestments and candles and incense and flowers were used, and that magnificent cathedrals were erected. (5) Extreme unction was the anointing, at the hands of a priest, of the Christian who was in immediate danger of death, and it was supposed to give health and strength to the soul and sometimes to the body. (6) Holy orders—the special imposition of hands on the part of a bishop—ordained priests, bishops, and other ministers of the church and conferred upon them the power and grace to perform their sacred duties. (7) Matrimony was the sacrament, held to be indissoluble by human power, by which man and woman were united in lawful Christian marriage.

Of the seven sacraments it will be noticed that two—baptism and penance—dealt with the forgiveness of sins; that two—confirmation and holy orders—required the ministry of a bishop; and all others, except baptism and possibly matrimony, required the ministry of at least a priest. The priesthood was, therefore, absolutely indispensable for the administration of the sacramental system. It was the priesthood that absolved penitents from their sins, wrought the great daily miracle of transubstantiation, and offered to God the holy sacrifice of the Mass.

Neither the theology nor the organization of the Catholic

Church, as they existed in the year 1500, had been precisely the same in detail throughout the Christian era. While educated Catholics insisted that Christ was indirectly the source of all faith and practice, they were quite willing to admit that external changes and adaptations of institutions to varying conditions had taken place. Moreover, the eminence to which the Catholic Church had attained by the year 1500 had not been won easily nor was it at that time readily maintained. Throughout the whole course of Christian history there had been repeated objections to new definitions of dogma, and there had been likewise a good deal of opposition to the temporal claims of the church and much friction between clergy and lay rulers. In fact, it had often transpired that kings who rivalled one another in recognizing the spiritual and religious headship of the pope and in burning heretics who denied doctrines of the church, were the very kings who quarrelled with the pope concerning the latter's civil jurisdiction and directed harsh laws against its exercise.

**Popular Belief in Religious Unity** Yet, despite age-long debates about doctrine and incessant conflicts about politics, the church appeared at the beginning of the sixteenth century to hold supreme and enduring sway over Christendom. The masses accepted it as a matter of course. Martin Luther on a pilgrimage to Rome early in the century entertained no doubt concerning it. Even those who were then most critical of abuses in it could hardly think of its destruction. To all manner of Europeans it seemed essential, not only for every individual's eternal salvation, but also for the general welfare of society at large. Anyone who might have counselled the overthrow of the church would have been viewed, precisely as a present-day advocate of the overthrow of the state is viewed, as an anarchist. For how could the authority of governments and law courts be respected, it was then argued, or how could men live peacefully together in society; or how could justice and honesty be assured in financial dealings, if there were no generally accepted standards of absolute morality? And how could there be absolute morality without divine revelation? And how could divine revelation be understood and applied in the same way by all men unless there were a single organization divinely commissioned to teach and interpret it?

All this seemed logical, and at the beginning of the sixteenth

century no monarch or nobleman or clergyman or commoner was planning any real rebellion against the Catholic Church. Nevertheless, before the century was far advanced, a mighty religious upheaval was occurring throughout Christendom and actual rebellion broke out against the historic church. The explanation of such an unexpected and unpremeditated outcome lies in the paradoxical situation that religious unrest of many different sorts was as widespread in Europe in the early part of the sixteenth century as belief in religious unity, and it proved to be more deep-seated.

Religious unrest was, indeed, emphatic and extreme. On the one hand, among many Christians, was a greatly quickened religious consciousness and devotion, which found expression in the multiplication of pious writings and practices. Mysticism flourished. Crowds flocked to hear sensational preachers. There was a notable increase of pilgrimages to famous shrines. There was an exaggerated veneration of saints and relics. There was a marked accession of interest in missionary endeavor both at home and overseas. There was an obvious growth and expansion of "good works," of hospitals, asylums, and other charitable foundations. Prayer-books, translations of the gospels, and volumes of popular devotion fairly rained from the new printing presses. Only a little while before the opening of the sixteenth century an Augustinian monk, Thomas à Kempis, wrote the *Imitation of Christ*, one of the most beautifully devotional works in the history of Christianity and second only to the Bible in popularity. Many a monk and nun, many a parish priest, many a humble layman strove earnestly for personal holiness and eternal salvation.

On the other hand, among many professed Christians, was an equally apparent indifference, even repugnance, to the spirit, if not to the form, of Christianity. The pursuit of the "new learning," the absorption in classical studies, the admiration for ancient paganism tended to create dissatisfaction with purely Christian achievement and to foster ideals of pleasure and luxury radically at variance with Christian precept. Simultaneously the sudden geographical expansion of Europe, the daring discoveries, the forceful subjugation and exploitation of overseas peoples, and especially the rapid rise of capitalism afforded to some Europeans the opportunity,

Devotion  
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Indiffer-  
ence to  
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Teachings

and to others the eager desire, to amass riches of this world; and by the ensuing worship of mammon the worship of Christ was sometimes obscured or choked. It was only natural that in such circumstances some scepticism and a good deal of hypocrisy should appear.

It was not only kings and merchant-princes who at the opening of the sixteenth century were actuated by un-Christian ambition for money and power, ostentation and pleasure, but also numerous bishops and abbots and other clergymen. Many of these seemed to be more bent on patronizing the new learning and erecting magnificent architectural monuments in the renaissance manner than on promoting Christian piety; and the gulf between their public faith and their private morals was frequently abysmal and notorious.

Scandals in the Papacy

Grave scandals were associated with the papal court at Rome toward the close of the fifteenth century and in the early part of the sixteenth. Pope Alexander VI (1492-1503) was grossly immoral and was concerned chiefly with securing estates and social position for his worthless son Caesar Borgia and for his vicious daughter Lucrezia Borgia. Julius II (1503-1513) was abler and better, but he was primarily a military man, devoted to the task of making the papal state a compact Italian principality. Leo X (1513-1521), a son of the banker Lorenzo de' Medici, was absorbed in the "new learning" and the "new art," in architecture and the theatre; and in order to obtain money for the rebuilding of St. Peter's basilica at Rome and for other objects of his munificence and extravagance, he resorted to the most questionable financial expedients. He created new church offices and shamelessly sold them. He increased the revenue from indulgences, jubilees, and regular taxation. He pawned palace furniture, table plate, pontifical jewels, even statues of the apostles. Several banking firms and many individual creditors were ruined by the death of Leo X.

The immorality and worldliness prevailing at Rome were reflected throughout Christendom in the lives of many lesser churchmen as well as in the lives of upper-class laymen. Scandals throughout the Church

Numerous bishops and abbots woefully neglected their ecclesiastical duties,—in some instances not going near their dioceses or monasteries,—and became famous, or infamous, as scheming politicians, as oppressive money-

getters and wasteful spenders, and as sensual epicures. Already in the fifteenth century a critical cardinal reported to the pope that the disorders, consequent upon the evil lives of high-placed clergymen, "excite the hatred of the people against all ecclesiastical order; if they are not corrected, it is to be feared that the laity will attack the clergy. . . . For they will say that the clergy are incorrigible and are unwilling to apply any remedy. They will attack us when they no longer have any hope of our correction. Men's minds are waiting for what shall be done; it seems as if shortly something tragic will be brought forth. The venom which they have against us is becoming evident; soon they will believe that they are making a sacrifice agreeable to God by maltreating or despoiling the ecclesiastics as persons odious to God and man and immersed to the utmost in vice. The scant reverence still remaining for the sacred order will be destroyed utterly. Responsibility for all the disaffection will be charged upon the Roman curia, which will be regarded as the source of the evils because it has neglected to apply the needful remedy."

The very fact that there was a quickened religious consciousness at the beginning of the sixteenth century made many Christians peculiarly critical of shortcomings of clergymen and anxious to effect a reformation of the church "in head and members." Conspicuous humanist scholars of the age, including Erasmus and More, wrote eloquently and wittily in behalf of the simplicity of the original Christian gospel and against the evil lives of contemporary clergymen, their ignorance and credulity; and the criticisms of these scholars were conveyed to the masses, in plainer and coarser language, by a host of pamphleteers.

The complaint most commonly made, particularly by the pamphleteers in Germany, was that the masses of the population were being financially exploited by the papal court, that they were being taxed more and more at the very time when the service rendered them was becoming less and less. There was much justice in the complaint, and in an age of rising competitive capitalism it had telling effect.

For a long time every clergyman, whether bishop, abbot, or priest, had usually been supported by a "benefice," that is, by the revenue of a parcel of land or an endowment attached to his post. And it had long been customary for a clergyman, when he took possession of his benefice, to pay a part of its first-year's

Financial  
Abuses

proceeds—its “annates,” as they were called—to his ecclesiastical superior, to his bishop or to the pope as the case might be. Now, with the growth of greed for money and of desire for ostentation, many a clergyman accumulated a number of benefices; bishops treated certain benefices in their dioceses as sinecures and awarded them to relatives and favorites, while demanding larger returns for themselves from other benefices; and the popes greatly extended the practice of “reserving” in all parts of Christendom particular benefices and of appointing to them Italians who drew revenues from them but remained in their own country. Thus it transpired that the common people often supported absentee prelates in luxury and sometimes paid a second time in order to maintain resident clergymen.

Besides, sums of money, enormous for those times, were being constantly drawn to Italy and Rome from all other regions of Catholic Christendom. There were “annates,” revenues from reserved benefices, Peter’s pence, prodigal contributions from archbishops for their badges of office, remains of feudal dues, sums spent by a host of pilgrims, and fat fees charged for the grant of dispensations and for the conduct of court trials by the Roman curia. The bulk of all these financial exactions rested ultimately upon the backs of the middle class, the artisans, and the peasants. At least in northern Europe the idea became prevalent that the pope and his curia were exploiting honest Christians outside of Italy for the benefit of scandalously immoral Italians.

All over central and western Europe sincere and thoughtful Christians were demanding a religious reformation. They were **Demand for Reform** demanding, however, a reformation within the Catholic Church and not a rebellion against it. Most of them were hopeful of effecting just such a reformation. They recalled how in earlier centuries—the eleventh, for example,—a group of reforming popes and energetic laymen had cleared away grave abuses and ended sorry disorders among prelates and monks, and they imagined that in due course history would repeat itself.

That at this time history did not exactly repeat itself but that, on the contrary, reformation became confused with rebellion, was due to certain novel circumstances affecting the position of Christianity at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The new circumstances were (1) political and (2) economic.

Preliminary to an understanding of the new political circumstances, it must be emphasized that the Catholic Church during many centuries prior to the sixteenth had been not only a religious body, like a present-day church, but also a vast political power which readily found sources of friction with other political states. The Catholic Church, as we have seen, had its own elaborate organization in every country of central and western Europe. Its officials—pope, bishops, priests, and monks—claimed to be independent of civil governments and superior to them. It owned extensive lands, which normally were exempt from taxation by civil governments. It levied taxes directly on all its members without let or hindrance by civil governments. In its own law-courts it tried, without permitting recourse to civil tribunals, all cases involving clergymen and certain kinds of cases involving laymen. Such political jurisdiction of the church had been needful and fairly satisfactory in feudal times—from the fifth to the fourteenth century, let us say—when civil governments were weak and the church found itself the chief unifying force in Europe, the veritable heir to the universal dominion of the ancient Roman Empire.

By the sixteenth century the situation was greatly altered. Civil rulers were repressing feudalism. Political ambition was increasing among laymen. Local pride was being expanded into national patriotism. Strong national states were emerging in western Europe, and elsewhere the popular demand for national states was growing. National monarchs and would-be national monarchs were reading authors like Machiavelli and were aspiring to an absolutism and despotism for which the middle ages furnished no precedent. National sovereignty was rapidly being established in fact as well as in theory, and the one thing still needed to complete it was to bring religion under national control. National monarchs were anxious to enlist the wealth and influence of the church in their behalf; they coveted her lands, her taxes, and her courts. Patriots in countries which still lacked national states were prone to perceive in the political power of the church the principal obstacle to the attainment of their national desires.

In these circumstances kings and princes and patriots of the sixteenth century were not likely to resist encroachments on the historic rights of the church. Indeed, if they were not saints—

Political  
Rôle  
of the  
Church

Sources of  
Political  
Conflict  
between  
Church  
and State

and saints among sixteenth-century monarchs were almost as rare as hens' teeth—they would welcome any opportunity to revolutionize the church in their own favor. A goodly number of them, like many prelates of the age, were really hostile to any religious reformation which might radically purify the church and gravely restrict their personal pleasures and political ambitions; and yet, with an unscrupulousness never surpassed, they stood ready to put themselves at the head of movements for ecclesiastical reform, or even rebellion, if thereby they could serve their own ends.

Economic circumstances of the time were similar. The same capitalistic spirit, the same eagerness for money and profits,

**Sources of Economic Conflict** which was immensely aggravating the financial abuses in the church, particularly among the higher clergy, was possessing the minds of innumerable laymen.

Manufacturers, merchants, and landlords were becoming capitalistic and were coveting the accumulated wealth, the princely revenues, and the large landed estates of ostentatious bishops and abbots. They were arguing that the riches of the church should be put to productive and profitable uses, and many of them, with a fine show of disinterested sympathy for religious reform, were quite willing to coöperate with kings and princes in confiscating church property, provided, of course, that they got a liberal share of it for themselves. In this way, men of means contributed to the religious and social unrest which characterized the beginning of the sixteenth century and to the eventual upheaval which brought forth not only religious rebellion and reformation but also a social revolution. This social revolution, while temporarily exalting lay monarchs at the expense of popes, was permanently to transfer economic influence from theologians to capitalists. It was at once a result and a cause of the rise of modern capitalism.

In such a setting of ambitious capitalists, lay princes, and national monarchs, the criticisms of ecclesiastical abuses by humanist scholars and the complaints of artisans and peasants were far more threatening to historic Christianity than the religious unrest of any earlier century. There had always been some religious unrest. There had always been critics of the church, and preachers who drew painful contrasts between the public tenets of Catholic Christianity and the scandalous con-

duct of some of its ministers and disciples. There had been, on occasion, movements for reform, and sometimes open rebellions had occurred. Heresy, the holding of beliefs at variance with those of the Catholic Church, and schism, the rejection of its authority and discipline, were no novelties in the sixteenth century.

A very serious and widespread heresy, that of Arianism, had greatly troubled the church in the centuries from the fourth to the seventh. Since the fifth and sixth centuries certain non-European nationalities, notably the Armenians and the Egyptians, had maintained national churches, independent of, and in schism with, the Catholic Church. From the fifth to the eleventh century had developed, moreover, a breach in Christian practice between the Catholic Church and the churches of the Greeks and other peoples of eastern Europe. Several earnest attempts had been made to heal this breach, but none had been completely successful, and at the opening of the sixteenth century it appeared to be permanent. Most of the Christian subjects of the Moslem Turks—Greeks, Yugoslavs, Bulgarians, and Rumanians,—together with the Russians, thought that the pope had usurped unwarrantable prerogatives, while the Christians of central and western Europe accused the easterners of departing from their earlier loyalty to the pope and of destroying the unity of Christendom. The former claimed that they alone were Orthodox Christians; the latter insisted that they alone were Catholic Christians. By the Catholic Church, the Orthodox Church of the east was deemed schismatic.

Earlier  
Heresies  
and  
Schisms

Within the confines of Catholic Christendom, as they were in the year 1500, there had been spasmodic schism and heresy during the middle ages. On the one hand, disputes between kings and popes and quarrels between rival claimants to the papacy had produced schisms of greater or less intensity and duration. On the other hand, the rejection of certain doctrines of the church by particular clergymen or laymen had given rise to such heresies as that of the Waldenses (in Italy), that of the Albigenses (in southern France), and that of John Hus (in Bohemia) and Wycliffe (in England). But schism and heresy had seldom been joined in the middle ages. The schisms had been pretty strictly political or economic; they had involved no

basic dogmatic differences; and they had proved temporary. Some of the heresies had been more stubborn and had secured fairly large popular followings, but, as a rule, they had been frowned upon and combated as zealously by schismatical kings as by Catholic popes. French kings had suppressed the Albigenses by armed force. Holy Roman Emperors had led crusades against the Hussites, and an English king had extirpated Wycliffe's disciples by fire and sword.

By the sixteenth century the ground was prepared for a different outcome. As formerly, doctrines were now put forth which were at variance with the traditional teaching of the Catholic Church and which were formally condemned by the pope, but not only were they put forth in greater profusion than ever before; they were now, for the first time, defended and propagated by numerous kings, princes, capitalists, and patriots. Schism and heresy were now definitely to be linked, with results as fatal to the medieval unity of Catholic Christendom as they have been characteristic of our modern era.

## 2. RISE OF PROTESTANT CHURCHES

For the great variety of reasons which we have just indicated—political, economic, and religious—there was profound unrest in Christendom in the sixteenth century, and the unrest found its most remarkable expression in the separation, between the years 1520 and 1570, of the peoples of northern Germany, Scandinavia, the northern Netherlands, most of Switzerland, Scotland, England, and parts of France and Hungary from the great religious and political body which had been known historically for over a thousand years as the Catholic Christian Church. The name

The Word “Protestant” was first applied exclusively to the “Protes-  
tant” separatists under the leadership of Martin Luther who  
in 1529 *protested* against an attempt of the diet of the Holy Roman Empire to prevent the introduction of religious novelties, but subsequently the name became in common parlance the designation of all Christians who rejected the supremacy of the pope and the authority of the historic Catholic Church and yet were not in communion with the Orthodox Church of eastern Europe.

Of this Protestant Christianity, several forms appeared in the sixteenth century. At that time the main forms were Lutheran-

ism, Calvinism, and Anglicanism, but still other types were foreshadowed which, if relatively insignificant then, were later to exert very real influence.

#### (a) LUTHERANISM

Lutheranism takes its name from its great apostle, Martin Luther (1483-1546). Luther was born at Eisleben in Germany of a poor family whose ancestors had been peasants.

He early showed himself ambitious, headstrong, will- Martin  
Luthering to pit his own opinions against those of the world, and intemperate in the use of language, but possessing much intellectual ability and an overwhelming anxiety about the salvation of his own soul. He was educated both in theology and in humanism at the university of Erfurt and in 1505 he became a member of the mendicant order of Augustinian monks. In 1508; in company with some of his fellow monks, he went to Wittenberg to teach in the university which the elector of Saxony had recently founded in that town, and a few years later he was appointed professor of theology at Wittenberg.

While lecturing and preaching at Wittenberg, where he was very popular, Luther grew more and more worried about the problem of eternal salvation, and from his reading of St. Paul and St. Augustine he derived, concerning the problem, a conviction which differed from the generally accepted teaching of the Catholic Church. The church taught, as we have seen, that she possessed the sole means of salvation, and that every Christian must perform certain "good works." Luther, on the other hand, entertained the idea that man was so depraved and corrupt, in the sight of God, as to be incapable of any good works whatsoever and that he could be saved only by faith in God's mercy. In other words, this monk was developing a doctrine of "justification by faith" in opposition to the Catholic doctrine of "justification by sacraments and works."

So far, Luther certainly had no thought of rebellion against the church of which he was a clergyman and a monk. In fact, when he visited Rome in 1511, it was as a pious pilgrim rather than as a carping critic. But a significant event in the year 1517 served to make clear the discrepancy between what he was teaching and what his church taught. In that year several agents of Pope Leo X had been sent out to dispose of indulgences

with a view to obtaining money for the rebuilding of the great basilica of St. Peter's at Rome, and one of these agents, Tetzel by name, was discharging his mission in the German archbishopric of Mainz in a manner which would be recognized in America to-day as that of high-pressure salesmanship. Luther at once protested against what he believed was a corruption of Christian doctrine and a swindling of the poorer and more ignorant people. The form which his protest took was the posting, on the church-door at Wittenberg, of ninety-five assertions ("theses") of his own concerning indulgences, accompanied by a challenge to anyone to debate them with him.

The Dis-  
pute over  
"Indul-  
gements"

To understand the significance of Luther's protest, it is important to know what the church meant by "indulgences." An "indulgence" was not a forgiving of sin, and it was never a permission to sin. It was (and is still in the Catholic Church) a promise of remission, in whole or in part, of the punishment to be meted out to a person after his death for sins for which he had been sincerely sorry and had done penance. The pope claimed the right to grant indulgences by virtue of the authority conferred by Christ upon Peter to hold and use the "keys of the kingdom of Heaven" and "to bind and loose" upon earth, but the grant of an indulgence was held to be without effect unless the person receiving it was in a "state of grace," that is, sorry for his sins and resolved not to sin again. To obtain an indulgence, the penitent had to say certain prayers or visit certain churches or do certain other "good works," and conspicuous among the "good works" in the time of Tetzel and Luther was the payment of money for papal purposes.

It was not simply against the money-payments for indulgences that Luther protested or merely against the objectionable methods of Tetzel, though these were assailed. The primary significance of Luther's theses was that they questioned the whole theory of "good works," of which the doctrine of indulgences was only a detail. "The Christian who has true repentance," wrote Luther, "has already received pardon from God altogether apart from an indulgence, and does not need one."

The ninety-five theses had originally been written in Latin for the educated class, but they were speedily translated into German and circulated widely among all classes in the country.

They provoked spirited discussion and aroused great excitement. Pope Leo X, who at first dismissed the matter as a mere squabble among the monks, was soon moved to summon Luther to Rome to answer for the theses, but the elector of Saxony intervened and prevailed upon the pope not to press the summons.

It was only a step from questioning the doctrine of "good works" to questioning the authority of the church, and this step Luther took in 1519. In that year at Leipzig, in the course of a debate on the theses with an eminent Catholic theologian, John Eck by name, Luther openly admitted that certain views of his, especially those concerning man's direct relation with God, without the mediation of the church, were the same as those which John Hus had held a century earlier and which had been condemned as heretical both by the pope and by the general council of Constance. Thereby Luther virtually confessed that a general council as well as a pope might err. For him, the divine authority of the Catholic Church ceased to be.

Separation from the traditional church was the only course now open to Luther and this was consummated in the year 1520. In a series of three bold pamphlets, he vigorously and definitely attacked the position of the church. In the first—*An Address to the Nobility of the German Nation*—Luther stated that there was nothing peculiarly sacred about the Christian priesthood and that the clergy should be deprived immediately of their special privileges; he urged the German princes to free their country from foreign control and shrewdly called their attention to the wealth and power of the church which they might justly appropriate to themselves. In the second—*On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church of God*—he assailed the papacy and the whole sacramental system. The third—*On the Freedom of a Christian Man*—contained the essence of Luther's new theology that salvation was not a painful progress toward a goal by means of sacraments and good works, but a condition "in which man found himself so soon as he despaired absolutely of his own efforts and threw himself on God's assurances."

In the midst of these attacks upon the church, the pope excommunicated Luther, and in the following year (1521) the diet of the Holy Roman Empire, assembled at Worms, pronounced him an outlaw. But the rebel calmly burned the papal bull and

from the imperial ban he was protected by the elector of Saxony. He at once devoted himself to making a new German translation of the Bible, which became very popular and is still prized as a monument in the history of German literature.<sup>1</sup>

Within the next few years the Lutheran teachings carried everything before them throughout central and northern Ger-

**Spread of  
Lutheran-  
ism in  
Germany** many. Nor is it difficult, in the light of what has already been said about the social and religious unrest of the time, to understand why Luther could successfully defy both pope and emperor and why his new theology was quickly and widely accepted in Germany. His rebellion was essentially popular and national. It appealed to pious persons who were shocked by the abuses in the church and longed for a Christian revival. It also appealed to more worldly persons who wished to enrich themselves by appropriating ecclesiastical lands and revenues. Above all, it appealed to German patriots who perceived in it an opportunity to put an end to the domination and exactions of an Italian and Roman curia. Then, too, the Emperor Charles V, who remained a Catholic, was too immersed in the difficulties of foreign war and in the manifold administrative problems of his huge realm to be able to devote sustained effort to the extirpation of heresy in Germany. Finally, the character of Luther contributed to effective leadership. He was tireless in flooding the country with pamphlets, letters, and inflammatory diatribes, tactful in keeping his party together, and always bold and courageous. Princes, burghers, artisans, peasants, and many clergymen joined hands in espousing the new cause. They rebelled against the Catholic Church, confiscated its lands and revenues, and abolished Catholic worship.

But the peasants espoused the new cause in a manner altogether too logical and too violent to suit Luther or the princes and landlords. The German peasants had grievances against the old order compared with which those of the nobles and townsfolk were imaginary. For at least a century several causes had contributed to make the lot of the peasants worse and worse. While their taxes and other burdens.

<sup>1</sup> The first edition of the Bible in German had been printed as early as 1466. At least eighteen editions in German (including four Low German versions) had appeared before Luther issued his German New Testament in 1522.

were increasing, the ability of the emperor to protect them was decreasing. They were exploited by every other class, including the higher clergy. Repeatedly, during the latter part of the fifteenth century, they had revolted against economic oppression. And now, in the sixteenth century, when Luther urged the German princes to assail ecclesiastics, to seize church lands, and to put an end to financial abuses, the peasants naturally listened to his words with open ears and proceeded with glad hearts to apply his advice in their own way.

The new Lutheran theology may have been too refined for the peasants, but they imagined they understood its purport. Spurred on by fanatics, whom the religious ferment of the time produced in large numbers, the peasants again took arms against economic oppression. That their demands were essentially moderate and involved no more than is granted everywhere to-day as a matter of course, may be inferred from their declaration of principles, the Twelve Articles, among which were: abolition of serfdom, free right of fishing and hunting, payment in wages for services rendered, and abolition of arbitrary punishment. So long as their efforts were directed against Catholic bishops, priests, and monks, Luther expressed sympathy with the peasants, but when the revolt, which broke out in 1524, became general all over central and southern Germany and was directed not only against the Catholic clergy but also against the lay lords,—many of whom were now Lutheran,—the religious leader foresaw a grave danger to his new religion in a split between peasants and nobles. Luther ended by espousing with vigor the cause of the nobles. He was shocked by the excesses of the insurrection, he said. Insisting upon toleration for his own revolt, he furiously begged the princes to put down the peasants' revolt. "Whoever can, should smite, strangle, or stab, secretly or publicly!"

The peasants' revolt was crushed in 1525 with utmost cruelty and with the slaughter of probably fifty thousand persons. One result was that the power of the lay lords became greater than ever, although in a few cases, particularly in the Tyrol and in Baden, the condition of the peasants was slightly improved. Elsewhere, however, this was not the case; and the German peasants were condemned for over two centuries to a lot worse than that of almost any people in Europe. Another result was

the decline of Luther's influence among the peasantry in southern and central Germany. They turned rapidly from one who, they believed, had betrayed them. On the other hand, many Catholic princes, who had been wavering in their religious support, now had before their eyes what they thought was an object lesson of the results of Luther's appeal to revolution, and so they cast their lot decisively with the ancient church. The peasants' revolt checked the spread of Lutheranism in Germany.

The diet of the Holy Roman Empire which assembled at Speyer in 1526 saw the German princes divided into a Lutheran and a Catholic party, but left the legal status of the new faith still in doubt, contenting itself with the vague declaration that "each prince should so conduct himself as he could answer for his behavior to God and to the emperor." But at the next diet, held at the same place in 1529, the emperor directed that the laws against heretics should be enforced and that the customary ecclesiastical revenues should not be used for the new worship. The Lutheran princes drafted a legal protest, in which they declared that they meant to abide by the law of 1526. From this protest came the name *Protestant*.

Philip Melanchthon, a prominent German humanist and a colleague of Luther's at the university of Wittenberg, attempted to conciliate the two religious parties. He prepared an orderly statement of Christian doctrine, which, while distinctly Lutheran in character, was more conservative in tone than some of Luther's preaching. Melanchthon called it the "reformed confession" and presented it to the diet of Augsburg in 1530. The diet did not adopt it, but it became the recognized creed of the Lutheran churches.

As for the emperor, he remained unconvinced of the truth or utility of the Confession of Augsburg and announced his intention of suppressing Luther's heresy by force of arms. In this predicament, the Lutheran princes formed a league at Schmalkald for mutual protection (1531); and from 1546 to 1555 a desultory civil war was waged. The Protestants received some assistance from the French king, who, for political reasons, was bent on humiliating the emperor. The end of the religious con-

Melanch-  
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States

flict appeared to have been reached by the peace of Augsburg (1555), which contained the following provisions: (1) each prince was to be free to dictate the religion of his subjects;<sup>1</sup> (2) all church property appropriated by the Protestants before 1552 was to remain in their hands; (3) no form of Protestantism except Lutheranism was to be tolerated; (4) Lutheran subjects of ecclesiastical states were not to be obliged to renounce their faith; (5) by an "ecclesiastical reservation" any ecclesiastical prince on becoming a Protestant was to give up his see.

Thus, between 1520 and 1555, Martin Luther had preached his new theology at variance with the Catholic, and had found general acceptance for it throughout the northern half of Germany; its creed had been defined in 1530, and its official toleration had been recognized in 1555.

Lutheranism failed to conquer all Germany, but it became triumphant in the Scandinavian countries. When Martin Luther broke with the Catholic Church, Christian II (1513-1523) was reigning as elected king over Denmark and Norway and had recently subjugated Sweden. Though the king encountered political difficulties with the church, he maintained Catholic worship and doctrine and formally recognized the spiritual supremacy of the pope. But Christian II had trouble with most of his subjects, especially the Swedes, who were conscious of separate nationality and desirous of political independence; and the king eventually lost his throne in a general uprising. The definite separation of Sweden from Denmark and Norway followed immediately. The Swedes chose Gustavus Vasa (1523-1560) as their king, while the Danish and Norwegian crowns passed to the uncle of Christian II, who assumed the title of Frederick I (1523-1533).

Lutheranism in  
Denmark  
and  
Norway

In Denmark, King Frederick was very desirous of increasing the royal power, and the subservient ecclesiastical organization which Martin Luther was advocating seemed to him for his purposes infinitely preferable to the ancient self-willed church. But Frederick realized that the Catholic Church was deeply rooted in the affections of his people and that changes would

<sup>1</sup> On the principle, stated in Latin, of *cuius regio eius religio*.

have to be effected slowly and cautiously. He therefore collected around him Lutheran teachers from Germany and made his court the centre of propaganda for the new doctrine, and so well was the work of the new teachers done that the king was able in 1527 to put the two religions on an equal footing before the law. Upon Frederick's death in 1533, the Catholics made a determined effort to prevent the accession of his son, Christian III, who was not only an avowed Lutheran but was known to stand for absolutist principles in government.

The popular protest against royal despotism failed in Denmark and the triumph of Christian III in 1536 sealed the fate of Catholicism in that country and in Norway. It was promptly enacted that the Catholic bishops should forfeit their temporal and spiritual authority and that all their property should be transferred to the crown "for the good of the commonwealth." After discussions with Luther the new religion was definitely organized and declared the state religion in 1537. It might be added that Catholicism died with difficulty in Denmark. Many peasants as well as high churchmen resented the changes, and Helgesen, the foremost Scandinavian scholar and humanist of the time, protested vigorously against the new order. But the crown was growing powerful, and the crown prevailed. The enormous increase of royal revenue, consequent upon the confiscation of the property of the church, enabled the king to make Denmark the leading Scandinavian country throughout the second half of the sixteenth century and the first quarter of the seventeenth. In time national patriotism came to be intertwined with Lutheranism.

In Sweden the success of the new religion was due to the crown quite as much as in Denmark and Norway. Gustavus Vasa had

*Lutheranism in Sweden* obtained the Swedish throne through the efforts of a nationalist party, but there was still a hostile faction, headed by the chief churchman, the archbishop of Upsala, who favored the maintenance of the union with Denmark. In order to deprive the unionists of their leader, Gustavus begged the pope to remove the rebellious archbishop and to appoint one in sympathy with the nationalist cause. This the pope refused to do, and the breach with Rome began. Gustavus succeeded in suppressing the insurrection, and then began to introduce Protestantism. The introduction was very gradual,

especially among the peasantry, and its eventual success was largely the result of the work of one strong man assisted by a subservient parliament of landlords and middle class.

At first Gustavus maintained Catholic worship and doctrines, contenting himself with the suppression of the monasteries, the seizure of two thirds of the church taxes, and the circulation of a popular Swedish translation of the New Testament. In 1527 all ecclesiastical property was transferred to the crown and two Catholic bishops were put to death. Meanwhile Lutheran teachers were encouraged to take up their residence in Sweden and in 1531 a Protestant was appointed as archbishop of Upsala. Thenceforth, the progress of Lutheranism was more rapid, although a Catholic reaction was threatened several times in the second half of the sixteenth century. The Confession of Augsburg was adopted as the creed of the Swedish Church in 1593, and in 1604 Catholics were deprived of offices and estates and banished from the realm.

#### (b) CALVINISM

A second general type of Protestantism which appeared in the sixteenth century was the immediate forerunner of the modern Presbyterian and Reformed Churches and at one time or another considerably affected the theology of other Protestant bodies. Taken as a group, it is usually called Calvinism. Of its rise and spread, some idea may be gained from brief accounts of the lives of two of its great apostles—Calvin and Knox. But first it will be necessary to say a few words concerning an older reformer, Zwingli by name, who prepared the way for Calvin's work in the Swiss cantons.

Switzerland comprised in the sixteenth century some thirteen cantons. All were technically under the suzerainty of the Holy Roman Empire, but they constituted in practice so many independent republics, bound together only by a number of defensive treaties. To the town of Einsiedeln in the canton of Schwyz came Huldreich Zwingli in the year 1516 as a Catholic priest. Slightly younger than Luther, he was well born, had received an excellent education in Vienna and in Basel, and had now been in holy orders about ten years. He had shown for some time more interest in humanism than in the old-fashioned theology, but hardly anyone would

Zwingli's  
Pioneer  
Work in  
Switzer-  
land

have suspected him of heresy, for it was well known that he was a regular pensioner of the pope.

Zwingli's opposition to the Catholic Church seems at first to have been based mainly on political grounds. He preached eloquently against the practice of hiring out Swiss troops to foreign rulers and abused the church for its share in this traffic in soldiers. Then he was led on to attack all manner of abuses in ecclesiastical organization, but it was not until he was installed in 1518 as preacher in the cathedral at Zürich that he clearly denied papal supremacy and proceeded to proclaim the Bible the sole guide of faith and morals. He preached against fasting, the veneration of saints, and the celibacy of the clergy. Some of his hearers began to put his teachings into practice. Church edifices were profaned, statues demolished, windows smashed, relics burned. Zwingli himself took a wife.

In 1523 a papal appeal to Zürich to abandon Zwingli was answered by the canton's formal declaration of independence from the Catholic Church. Henceforth the revolt spread rapidly throughout Switzerland, except in the five forest cantons, the very heart of the country, where the old religion was still deeply entrenched. Serious efforts were made to join the followers of Zwingli with those of Luther, and thus to present a united front to the common enemy, but there seemed to be irreconcilable differences between Lutheranism and the doctrines of Zwingli. The latter, which were succinctly expressed in sixty-seven theses published at Zürich in 1523, insisted more firmly than the former on the supreme authority of the Bible, and broke more thoroughly and radically with the traditions of the Catholic Church. Zwingli aimed at a reformation of government and discipline as well as of theology, and entertained a notion of an ideal state in which human activities, whether political or religious, would be ordered democratically. Zwingli differed essentially from Luther in never distrusting "the people." Perhaps the most distinctive mark of the Swiss reformer's theology was his idea that the Lord's Supper is not a miracle but simply a symbol and a memorial.

In 1531 Zwingli urged the Protestant Swiss to convert the five forest cantons to the new religion by force of arms. In answer to his entreaties, civil war ensued, but the Catholic mountaineers won a victory that very year and the reformer himself was killed. A truce was then arranged, the provisions of which foreshadowed

the religious settlement in Germany—each canton was to be free to determine its own religion. Switzerland has remained to this day part Catholic and part Protestant.

By the sudden death of Zwingli, Swiss Protestantism was left without a leader, but not for long, because the more celebrated Calvin took up his residence in Geneva in 1536. From that time until his death in 1564 Calvin was the centre of a movement which, starting from these small Zwinglian beginnings among the Swiss mountains, speedily spread over more countries and affected more people than did Lutheranism. In Calvinism, Catholicism was to find a most implacable foe.

John Calvin, who, next to Martin Luther, was the most conspicuous Protestant leader of the sixteenth century, was a Frenchman. Born of middle-class parentage at Noyon in the province of Picardy in 1509, he was intended from an early age for an ecclesiastical career. A pension from the Catholic Church enabled him to study at Paris, where he displayed an aptitude for theology and literature. When he was nineteen years of age, however, his father advised him to abandon the idea of entering the priesthood in favor of becoming a lawyer, and so young Calvin spent several years studying law.

John  
Calvin

It was in 1529 that Calvin is said to have experienced a sudden "conversion." Although as yet there had been no organized revolt in France against the Catholic Church, that country, like many others, was teeming with religious critics. Thousands of Frenchmen were in sympathy with any attempt to improve the church by education, by purer morals, or by better preaching. Lutheranism was winning a few converts, and various other sects were appearing in divers places. It was still doubtful whether reform would be sought within the traditional church or by rebellion against it. Calvin believed that his conversion was a divine call to forsake Catholicism and to become the apostle of a purer Christianity. His heart, he said, was "so subdued and reduced to docility that in comparison with his zeal for true piety he regarded all other studies with indifference, though not entirely abandoning them. Though himself a beginner, many flocked to him to learn the pure doctrine, and he began to seek some hiding-place and means of withdrawal from people."

His search for a hiding-place was quickened by the announced determination of the French king, Francis I, to put an end to

religious dissent among his subjects. Calvin abruptly left France and found an asylum in the Swiss town of Basel, where he became acquainted at first hand with the type of reformed religion which Zwingli had propagated, and where he proceeded to write an account of the Protestant position as contrasted with the Catholic. This exposition,—*The Institutes of the Christian Religion*,—which was published in 1536, was dedicated to King Francis I and was intended to influence him in favor of Protestantism.

Although the book failed of its immediate purpose, it speedily won a deservedly great reputation. It was a statement of Calvin's views, borrowed in part from Zwingli, and in part from Luther and other reformers. It was orderly and concise, and it did for Protestant theology what medieval writers had done for Catholic theology. It contained the seed of all that subsequently developed as Calvinism.

It seemed for some time as if the *Institutes* might provide a common religious rule and guide for all Christians who rebelled against Rome. But Calvin, in mind and nature, was quite different from Luther. The latter was impetuous, excitable, and very emotional; the former was ascetic, calm, and severely logical. Then, too, Luther was quite willing to leave in the church many practices which were not directly prohibited by Scripture; Calvin insisted that nothing should remain in the church which was not expressly authorized by Scripture. The *Institutes* had a tremendous influence upon Protestantism but did not unite the followers of Calvin and Luther.

In 1536 Calvin went to Geneva, which was then in the throes of a revolution at once political and religious, for the townsfolk

**Calvin at Geneva**      were freeing themselves from the feudal suzerainty of the duke of Savoy and banishing the Catholic Church,

whose cause the duke championed. Calvin aided in the work and was rewarded by an appointment as chief pastor and preacher in the city. This position he continued to hold, except for a brief period when he was exiled, until his death in 1564. It proved to be a commanding position not only in ordering the affairs of the town, but also in giving form to an important branch of Protestant Christianity.

The government of Geneva under Calvin's régime was a curious theocracy of which Calvin himself was both religious leader and political governor. The minister of the reformed faith became

God's mouthpiece upon earth and inculcated an unbending puritanism in daily life. "No more festivals, no more jovial reunions, no more théâtres or society; the rigid monotony of an austere rule weighed upon life. A poet was decapitated because of his verses; Calvin wished adultery to be punished by death like heresy, and he had Michael Servetus burned for not entertaining the same opinions as himself upon the mystery of the Trinity."

Under Calvin's theocratic despotism, Geneva became famous throughout Europe as the source of elaborate Protestant propaganda. Calvin, who set the example of stern simplicity and relentless activity, was sometimes styled the "Protestant pope." He not only preached every day, wrote numerous theological treatises, and issued a French translation of the Bible, but he established important Protestant schools, including the university of Geneva, which attracted students from distant lands, and he conducted a correspondence with his disciples and with would-be reformers in all parts of Europe. His letters alone would fill thirty folio volumes.

Such activities account for the wide diffusion of Calvinism. Frenchmen, Netherlanders, Germans, Magyars, Scots, and Englishmen flocked to Geneva to hear Calvin or to attend his schools, and when they returned to their own countries they were likely to be so many glowing sparks ready to start mighty conflagrations.

Wide Diffusion of Calvinism

Calvinism was known by various names in the different countries which it entered. On the Continent of Europe it was described as the Reformed Faith. In France its followers were styled Huguenots. In Scotland and England it was called Presbyterianism. Its essential characteristics, however, were the same wherever it took root.

We have already noticed how Switzerland, except for the five forest cantons, had been converted to Protestantism by the preaching of Zwingli. Calvin was Zwingli's real theological successor, and the majority of the Swiss, especially those in the urban cantons of Zürich and Bern as well as in that of Geneva, adopted Calvinism.

In Switzerland

Calvinism also made converts in France. The doctrines and writings of Luther had there encountered small success. There appeared to be fewer abuses among the French clergy than among the ecclesiastics of northern Europe, and many French

reformers believed that greater good would eventually be achieved within the Catholic Church than without. Besides, In France the French sovereign was less prompted to lay his hand upon the domains of the clergy, because a special agreement with the pope in 1516 bestowed upon the king the nomination of bishops and the disposition of benefices. For these reasons the majority of the French people resisted Protestantism of every form and remained loyal to Catholicism.

What progress religious rebellion made in France was due to Calvin rather than to Luther. Calvin, as we have seen, was a Frenchman, and his teachings and logic appealed to a small but influential body of his fellow countrymen. A considerable portion of the lower nobility, some merchants and business men, and many magistrates conformed to Calvinism openly; the majority of great lawyers and men of learning adhered to it in public or in secret. Probably from a twentieth to a thirtieth of the total population embraced Calvinism. The movement was confined largely to the bourgeoisie, and almost from the outset it acquired political as well as religious significance. It represented among the lesser nobility an awakening of the aristocratic spirit and among the middle class a reaction against the growing power of the king. The financial and moneyed interests of the country were largely attracted to French Calvinism. The Huguenots, as the French Calvinists were called, were particularly strong in the law courts and in the estates-general, and these had been the main checks upon royal despotism.

The Huguenots were involved in sanguinary civil and religious wars which raged in France throughout the greater part of the sixteenth century, and only in 1598 did they receive a definite guaranty of religious toleration.<sup>1</sup>

The Netherlands were too closely associated with Germany not to be affected by the Lutheran revolt against the Catholic Church; they soon became saturated with Lutheranism, and also with the doctrines of various radical sects that from time to time were expelled from the German states. The Emperor Charles V by harsh action tried to stamp out heresy, but he succeeded only in changing its name and nature. Lutheranism disappeared from the Netherlands; but in its place came Calvinism, descending from Geneva through

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 204-205.

Alsace and thence down the Rhine, or entering from Great Britain by the broad commercial channels between those countries. While the southern provinces of the Netherlands were eventually recovered for Catholicism, the protracted political and economic conflict which the northern provinces waged against the Catholic king of Spain served to establish Calvinism as the national religion of a majority of Dutchmen. Calvinism in the Netherlands was known as the Dutch Reformed religion.

We have already noted that southern Germany had rejected Lutheranism, partially at least because of Luther's bitter words to the peasants. Catholicism, however, was not destined to have complete sway in that region, for Calvinism permeated Württemberg, Baden, and the Rhenish provinces and the Reformed doctrines gained numerous converts there, especially among the middle class. The growth of Calvinism in Germany was handicapped seriously by the religious settlement of Augsburg in 1555 which tolerated officially only Catholicism and Lutheranism. It was not until after the close of the direful Thirty Years' War in the seventeenth century that German Calvinists obtained formal standing.

Both in Hungary and in Poland, Calvinism spread, especially among nobles and middle class. It seemed in the sixteenth century as if both countries would soon become wholly Calvinist. In Hungary, by the close of the century, only a hundred clergymen and not more than half a dozen noble families still clung to Catholicism, while in Poland the majority of the great landlords were quitting Catholicism and adhering to Calvinism. In Poland and Hungary, however, these gains of Calvinism, as we shall presently see, were not to be permanent.

Scotland, like every other European country in the early part of the sixteenth century, had been the scene of protests against moral and financial abuses in the Catholic Church.

To political causes, however, must primarily be attributed the expression of that unrest in ecclesiastical rebellion. The kingdom had long been a prey to the bitter rivalry of clannish noble families, and the premature death of James V (1542), who left the throne to his infant daughter, Mary Stuart, gave free rein to a feudal reaction against the crown. In general, the Catholic clergy sided with the royal

In  
Germany

In  
Hungary  
and  
Poland

In  
Scotland

cause, while the religious reformers prevailed upon the nobles to champion Protestantism in order to deal an effective blow against the throne. Thus Cardinal Beaton, primate of the Catholic Church in Scotland, ordered numerous executions on the score of protecting religion and the authority of the queen-regent; on the other hand several noblemen, professing the new theology, assassinated the cardinal and hung his body on the battlements of the castle of St. Andrews (1546). Such was the general situation in Scotland when John Knox appeared upon the scene.

Born of peasant parents, John Knox (1515-1572) had become a Catholic priest, albeit in sympathy with many of the revolutionary ideas which were entering Scotland from the Continent and from England. In 1546 he openly rejected the authority of the church and proceeded to preach "the Gospel" and a stern puritanical morality. "Others snipped the branches," he said, "he struck at the root." But the Catholic court was able to banish Knox from Scotland. After romantic imprisonment in France, Knox spent a few years in England, preaching an extreme puritanism, holding a chaplaincy under Edward VI (1547-1553), and exerting his influence to ensure an indelibly Protestant character to the Anglican Church. Then upon the accession to the English throne of the Catholic Mary Tudor, Knox betook himself to Geneva where he made the acquaintance of Calvin and found himself in essential agreement with the teachings of the French reformer.

After a stay of some five years on the Continent, Knox returned finally to Scotland and became the organizer and director of the "Lords of the Congregation," a league of the chief Protestant noblemen for purposes of religious propaganda and political power. In 1560 he drew up the creed and discipline of the Presbyterian Church after the model of Calvin's church at Geneva; and in the same year, with the support of the "Lords of the Congregation" and the troops of Queen Elizabeth of England, Knox effected a political and religious revolution in Scotland. The queen-regent was imprisoned, and the subservient parliament decreed the abolition of papal supremacy and enacted the death penalty against anyone who should even attend Catholic worship. John Knox had carried everything before him.

Queen Mary Stuart, during her brief stay in Scotland (1561-

1567), tried in vain to stem this tide. The jealous nobles would brook no increase of royal authority. The austere Knox hour and the girl-queen in public sermons and fairly flayed her character. The queen's downfall and subsequent long imprisonment in England finally decided the ecclesiastical future of Scotland. Except in a few fastnesses in the northern highlands, where Catholicism survived among the clansmen, the whole country was committed to Calvinism.

Calvinism was not without influence in England. Introduced towards the close of the reign of Henry VIII, it inspired the theology, if not the organization, of a number of small sects which troubled the king's Anglican Church almost as much as did the Catholics. Under Edward VI (1547-1553), it influenced considerably the theology of the Anglican Church itself, but the moderate policies of Elizabeth (1558-1603) tended to fix a gulf between Anglicans and Calvinists. In England

### (c) ANGLICANISM

Anglicanism usually designates that form of Protestantism which was adopted for the state church in England in the sixteenth century and which is now represented by the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States as well as by the Established Church of England. The Methodist churches are comparatively late off-shoots of Anglicanism.

The separation of England from the papacy was a more gradual and halting process than were the contemporary revolutions on the Continent. The new Anglicanism was correspondingly more conservative than Lutheranism or Calvinism.

At the opening of the sixteenth century, the word "Catholic" meant the same in England as in every other country of western or central Europe—belief in the seven sacraments, the sacrifice of the Mass, and the veneration of saints; acceptance of papal supremacy, and support of monasticism and of other institutions and practices of the medieval church. During several centuries it had been customary in legal documents to refer to the Catholic Church in England as the *Ecclesia Anglicana*, or Anglican Church, just as the popes in their letters repeatedly referred to the "Gallican Church," the "Spanish Church," the "Neapolitan Church," or the "Hungarian Church." But such phraseology did not

The  
Catholic  
Church in  
England

imply a separation of any one national church from the common Catholic communion, and for nearly a thousand years—ever since there had been an *Ecclesia Anglicana*—the English had recognized the bishop of Rome as the centre of Catholic unity.

In the course of the sixteenth century, however, the majority of Englishmen changed their conception of the *Ecclesia Anglicana*, so that to them it continued to exist as the Church of England, but on a strictly national basis, in communion neither with the pope nor with the Orthodox Church of the East, and abandoning several doctrines which had been universally held in earlier times, while substituting in their place beliefs and customs which were distinctively Protestant. This new conception of the Anglican Church—resulting from the religious upheaval of the sixteenth century—is what we mean by Anglicanism as a form of Protestantism. It took shape in the eventful years between 1520 and 1570.

In order to understand how this religious and ecclesiastical revolution was effected in England, we must appreciate the various elements distrustful of the Catholic Church in to the that country about the year 1525. In the first place, Church in the Lutheran teachings were infiltrating into the England country. As early as 1521 a small group at Cambridge had become interested in the new German theology, and thence the sect spread to Oxford, London, and other intellectual centres. It found its early converts chiefly among the lower clergy and the merchants of the large towns, but for several years it was not numerous.

In the second place, there was the same feeling in England as we have already noted throughout all Europe that the clergy needed reform in morals and in manners. This view was shared not only by the comparatively insignificant group of heretical Lutherans, but likewise by a large proportion of the leading men who accounted themselves loyal members of the Catholic Church. Such humanists as Colet and More were especially eloquent in preaching reform, and the writings of Erasmus had great vogue in England.

A third source of distrust of the church was a purely political feeling against the papacy. On one hand, national patriotism was steadily growing in England, and it was at variance with the older cosmopolitan character of Catholicism. On the other hand,

royal power was increasing, particularly after the accession of the Tudor family in 1485. Henry VII (1485–1509) subordinated to the crown both the nobility and the parliament,<sup>1</sup> and the patriotic support of the middle class he had secured. And when his son, Henry VIII (1509–1547), came to the throne, the only serious obstacle which appeared to be left in the way of royal absolutism was the privileged independence of the Catholic Church.

Yet a number of years passed before Henry VIII laid violent hands upon the church. In the meanwhile, he proved himself a devoted Catholic. He scented the new Lutheran heresy and sought speedily to exterminate it. He even wrote in 1521 with his own royal pen a bitter arraignment of the new theology, and sent his book, which he called *The Defence of the Seven Sacraments*, with a delightful dedicatory epistle to the pope. For his prompt piety and filial orthodoxy, he received from the bishop of Rome the proud title of *Fidei Defensor*, or Defender of the Faith, a title which he jealously bore until his death, and which his successors, the sovereigns of Great Britain, have continued to bear ever since. He seemed not even to question the pope's political claims. He allied himself on several occasions with Leo X in the great game of European politics. His chief minister and adviser in England for many years was Thomas Wolsey, the most conspicuous ecclesiastic in his kingdom and a cardinal of the Roman Church.

Under these circumstances it is difficult to see how the Anglican Church would have immediately broken away from Catholic unity had it not been for the peculiar marital troubles of Henry VIII. The king had been married eighteen years to Catherine of Aragon,<sup>2</sup> and had been presented by her with six children (of whom only one daughter, the Princess Mary, had survived), when one day he informed her that they had been living all those years in mortal sin and that their union was not true marriage. The queen could hardly be expected to agree to such a conclusion, and there ensued a legal suit between the royal pair.

To Henry VIII the matter was really quite simple. Henry was tired of Catherine and wanted to get rid of her. He believed

**Henry VIII  
as De-  
fender of  
the Faith**

**Henry VIII  
as a Mar-  
ried Man**

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 28–30.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 30, and below, p. 224.

the queen could bear him no more children and yet he ardently desired a male heir. Rumor reported that the susceptible king had recently been smitten by the brilliant black eyes of a certain Anne Boleyn, a maid-in-waiting at the court. The purpose of Henry was obvious; so was the means, he thought. For it had occurred to him that Catherine was his elder brother's widow, and, therefore, had no right, by church law, to marry him. To be sure, a papal dispensation had been obtained from Pope Julius II authorizing the marriage, but why not now obtain a revocation of that dispensation from the reigning Pope Clement VII? Thus the marriage with Catherine could be declared null and void, and Henry would be a bachelor, thirty-six years of age, free to wed some princess, or haply Anne Boleyn.

There was no doubt that Clement VII would like to have done his great English champion a favor, but two difficulties at once presented themselves. It might be a dangerous precedent for the pope to reverse the decision of one of his predecessors. Worse still, the Emperor Charles V, the nephew of Queen Catherine, took up cudgels in his aunt's behalf and threatened Clement with dire penalties if he nullified the marriage. The pope complained truthfully that he was between the anvil and the hammer. He sought to temporize and to delay decision.

The protracted delay was very irritating to the impulsive English king, who was now really in love with Anne Boleyn. Gradually Henry's former effusive loyalty to Rome gave way to a settled conviction of the tyranny of the papal power, and there rushed to his mind the recollection of efforts of earlier English rulers to restrict that power. A few salutary enactments against the church might compel a favorable decision from the pope.

Henry VIII seriously opened his campaign against the Roman Church in 1531, when he frightened the English clergy into paying a fine of over half a million dollars for violating an obsolete statute that had forbidden reception of papal legates without royal sanction, and in the same year he forced the clergy to recognize himself as supreme head of the church "as far as that is permitted by the law of Christ." His subservient parliament then em-

Conflict  
and  
Breach  
between  
England  
and Rome

powered him to stop the payment of annates to the pope and to appoint bishops in England without recourse to the papacy. Without waiting longer for the decision from Rome, he had Cranmer, one of his own creatures, whom he had just named archbishop of Canterbury, declare his marriage with Catherine null and void and his union with Anne Boleyn canonical and legal. Pope Clement VII thereupon handed down his long-delayed decision, which was favorable to Queen Catherine and excommunicated Henry VIII.

The formal breach between England and Rome occurred in 1534. Parliament passed a series of laws, one of which declared the king to be the "only supreme head in earth of the Church of England," and others cut off all communication with the pope and inflicted the penalty of treason upon anyone who should deny the king's ecclesiastical supremacy.

One step in the transition of the Church of England had now been taken. For centuries its members had recognized the pope as their ecclesiastical head; henceforth they were to own the ecclesiastical headship of their king. From the former Catholic standpoint, this might be schism but it was not necessarily heresy. Yet Henry VIII encountered considerable opposition from the higher clergy, from the monks, and from many intellectual leaders, as well as from large numbers of the lower classes. A popular uprising—the Pilgrimage of Grace—was sternly suppressed, and such men as the brilliant Sir Thomas More and John Fisher, the aged and saintly bishop of Rochester, were beheaded because they retained their former belief in papal supremacy.

The breach with Rome naturally encouraged the Lutherans and other reformers to think that England was on the point of becoming Protestant, but nothing was further from the king's mind. The assailant of Luther remained at least partially consistent. While separating England from the papacy, Henry was firmly resolved to maintain every other tenet of the Catholic faith as he had received it; and his parliament obligingly enacted a law of the "six articles" (1539), reaffirming the chief points in Catholic doctrine and practice and visiting dissenters with horrible

Henry  
VIII's  
Middle-  
of-the-  
Road  
Policy

punishment. This middle-of-the-road policy was enforced with much bloodshed. On one side, the Catholic who denied the royal supremacy was beheaded; on the other, the Protestant who denied transubstantiation was burned! It has been estimated that during the reign of Henry VIII the number of capital condemnations for politico-religious offenses ran into the thousands.

During the reign of Henry VIII one of the most important of all earlier Christian institutions—monasticism—was forcefully uprooted from England. There were certainly grave abuses and scandals in some of the monasteries which dotted the country, and a good deal of popular sentiment had been aroused against the institution. Then, too, the monks had generally opposed the royal pretensions to religious supremacy and remained loyal to the pope. But the deciding factor in the suppression of the monasteries was undoubtedly economic. Henry, always in need of funds on account of his extravagances, appropriated part of the confiscated property for the benefit of the crown, and the rest he astutely distributed as gigantic bribes to the upper classes of the laity. The nobles who accepted the ecclesiastical property were thereby committed to the new anti-papal religious settlement in England.

The Church of England, separated from the papacy under Henry VIII, became Protestant under Edward VI (1547-1553).

The young king's guardian tolerated all manner of reforming propaganda, and Calvinists as well as Lutherans preached their doctrines freely. Official articles of religion, which were drawn up for the Anglican Church, showed unmistakably Protestant influence. The Latin service books of the Catholic Church were translated into English, under Cranmer's auspices, and the edition of the *Book of Common Prayer*, published in 1552, made clear that the eucharist was no longer to be regarded as a propitiatory sacrifice: the names "Holy Communion" and "Lord's Supper" were substituted for "Mass," while the word "altar" was replaced by "table." The old places of Catholic worship were changed to suit a new order: altars and images were taken down, the former service books destroyed, and stained-glass windows broken. Several peasant uprisings signified that the nation was not completely united upon a policy of religious

change, but the reformers had their way, and Protestantism advanced.

A temporary setback to the progress of the new Anglicanism was afforded by the reign of Mary Tudor (1553-1558), the daughter of Catherine of Aragon, and a devout Catholic. She reinstated the bishops who had refused to take the oath of royal supremacy and punished those who had taken it. She prevailed upon parliament to repeal the ecclesiastical legislation of both her father's and her brother's reigns and to reconcile England once more with the bishop of Rome. A papal legate, in the person of Cardinal Reginald Pole, sailed up the Thames with his cross gleaming from the prow of his barge, and in full parliament administered the absolution which freed the kingdom from the guilt incurred by its schism and heresy. As an additional support to her policy of restoring the Catholic Church in England, Queen Mary married her cousin, Philip II of Spain, the outstanding champion of Catholicism upon the Continent.

Temporary  
Catholic  
Restora-  
tion under  
Mary  
Tudor

But events proved that despite outward appearances even the reign of Mary registered an advance of Protestantism. The new doctrines were zealously propagated by an ever growing number of itinerant exhorters. The Spanish alliance was disastrous to English fortunes abroad and distasteful to patriotic Englishmen at home. And finally, the violent means which the queen took to stamp out heresy gave her the unenviable title of "Bloody" and reacted in the end in behalf of the views for which the victims sacrificed their lives. During her reign nearly three hundred reformers perished, many of them, including Archbishop Cranmer, by fire. The work of the queen was in vain. No heir was born to Philip and Mary, and the crown passed, therefore, to Elizabeth, the Protestant daughter of Anne Boleyn.

It was in the reign of Elizabeth (1558-1603) that the Church of England assumed definitely the doctrines and practices which we now connect with the word "Anglicanism." By act of parliament, the English Church was again separated from the papacy and placed under royal authority, Elizabeth assuming the title of "supreme governor." The worship of the state church was to be in conformity with a slightly altered version of Cranmer's *Book of Common Prayer*. A uniform

Queen  
Elizabeth

trine . . . . use imposed by parliament in the form of  
nearly-nine a . . . . which set a distinctively Protestant mark  
upon the Anglican Church in its appeal to the Scriptures as the  
sole rule of faith, its insistence on justification by faith alone, its  
repudiation of the sacrifice of the Mass, and its definition of  
the church. All the bishops who had been appointed under  
Mary, with one exception, refused to accept the changes, and were therefore deposed and imprisoned, but new bishops, Elizabeth's own appointees, were consecrated and the "succession of  
bishops" thereby maintained. Outwardly, the Church of England appeared to retain a corporate continuity throughout the sixteenth century. Inwardly, a great revolution had changed it from Catholic to Protestant.

Harsh laws sought to oblige all Englishmen to conform to Elizabeth's religious settlement. Liberty of public worship was denied to any dissenter from Anglicanism. To be a "papist" or "hear Mass"—which were construed as the same thing—was punishable by death as high treason. A special ecclesiastical court—the Court of High Commission—was established under royal authority to search out heresy and to enforce uniformity; it served throughout Elizabeth's reign as a kind of Protestant Inquisition.

While the large majority of the English nation gradually conformed to the official Anglican Church, a considerable number of Dissenters refused their allegiance. On one hand were a number of Non-conformists in England, who still maintained the doctrine of papal supremacy and were usually derisively styled "papists," and on the other hand were various radical sects, such as Presbyterians or Independents, who went by the name of "dissenters" or "non-conformists." For a time, the number of Catholics tended to diminish, largely because, for political reasons, Protestantism in England became almost synonymous with English patriotism. On the other hand, the radical sects tended somewhat to increase their numbers, so that in the seventeenth century they were able to precipitate a great political and ecclesiastical conflict with Anglicanism.

#### (d) RADICAL PROTESTANTISM

Calvinism, Anglicanism, and Lutheranism were the chief but not the only forms which rebellion against Catholic Christianity

took in the sixteenth century. In the midst of the upheaval of the time, individuals more radical than Luther and Cranmer, and even Calvin, raised their voices in protest against traditional ecclesiastical authority and gained followings here and there throughout western Christendom. It was not only against the pope and the Catholic Church that these Radical Protestants inveighed.

They assailed also the efforts of reformers to establish authoritarian Protestant churches. In most instances they were hostile to any ecclesiastical organization of religion, and Christianity to them meant less a creed vouchéd for by theologians in a church (Catholic or Protestant) than a way of life revealed to individuals by an "inner light." As a rule they sympathized with the contention of Luther and Calvin that the Bible is the sole basis of Christian faith and morals, but they seemed to repose less confidence in the ability of educated persons like Calvin and Luther to interpret the Bible than in the infallibility of the humblest and most untutored.

This anarchistic character of Radical Protestantism rendered it in the sixteenth century peculiarly repugnant, not only to Catholics, but likewise to Lutherans, Calvinists, and Anglicans; and because some of its apostles preached social revolution and the overthrow of all existing governments, it was especially feared and persecuted by kings and princes. Incidentally, it should be remarked that Radical Protestantism, on account of its anarchistic nature, cannot be treated, like Catholicism or any major form of Protestantism, as a single movement or a coherent system. It has had some continuity of principles, but not of organization. It has given rise to "sects," rather than to "churches."

Of the great variety of Radical Protestant preachers who appeared throughout western Christendom in the sixteenth century, space permits us to mention only a few. These may serve, however, as exemplars of one or another set of radical principles which have had lasting and gradually increasing influence on the modern evolution of Protestant Christianity as a whole. The principles are those of Evangelicalism, Congregationalism, and Unitarianism.

"Evangelicalism" signifies the emphasizing of the emotional,

Emergence  
of  
Radical  
Sects

at the expense of the rational elements in Christianity. Its sixteenth-century exponents—so-called Evangelical Christians,—“<sup>Evan-</sup>  
<sup>gelical”</sup>  
Sects while distrusting historic tradition and theology, accepted the divine inspiration of each and every word in the Bible and believed that the way of salvation for each individual lay simply in feeling Christ, in experiencing a “conviction of sin” and a spiritual illumination or revival, which was reckoned as “conversion” and which made one a saint, and thenceforth in surrendering one’s self to Christ and doing whatever one’s reading of the Bible seemed to direct one to do.

An early exemplar of this Evangelical Protestantism was Thomas Münzer (1489–1525), a German, who had received a university education and was serving as a Catholic priest at Zwickau (in Saxony) when Martin Luther rebelled against the church. Under the excitement of the time, Münzer, with a number of fellow clergymen, at once experienced conversion, felt the direct indwelling of the Holy Spirit, and in 1521 hurried to Wittenberg as a “prophet” to convince Luther that the latter should be more radical and more evangelical. Denounced by Luther and expelled from Wittenberg, Münzer wandered for four years in Bohemia and Switzerland, preaching with rude eloquence and obvious sincerity not only a complete religious revolution but also the overthrow of existing governments and the establishment of communism. Münzer participated prominently in the peasants’ revolt of 1525 and, following its forceful suppression, was put to death by the Lutheran prince of Hesse. Among the tenets which Münzer deduced from his reading of the Bible was the belief that baptism should not be administered to infants, as was the practice of Luther no less than of the Catholic Church, but only to adults after conversion. Hence arose the term Anabaptists—“re-baptizers”—to denote the followers of Münzer and similar evangelical sects.

The reputation of the Anabaptists suffered from their association with the peasants’ revolt, and even more so from the spectacular career of one of their number, a Netherlandish tailor, commonly known as John of Leiden (1510–1536). John of Leiden read the Bible in his own way and became a prophet; he announced that he was the successor of King David, that he re-

ceived daily revelations from heaven, that he was entitled to both royal and divine honors; he sanctioned polygamy and himself took four wives. The Brigham Young of his age, he attracted fanatical disciples and managed to seize the city of Münster and to hold it for a year as the Zion of the new dispensation. Eventually in 1536 Münster was recaptured by the Catholic bishop and John of Leiden was executed.

It must not be supposed that John of Leiden was a fair sample of all the Anabaptists or other evangelical sects. As evangelicalism spread in the Netherlands and Germany, it appealed to many good quiet people, chiefly among the lower classes but to some extent among university-trained persons, who piously tried to lead a simple and pure life in conformity with what they believed were the precepts of primitive Christianity. Such a person, for example, was Menno Simons (1492-1559), a Netherlander who had been a priest, though not a university graduate, and who renounced the Catholic Church in 1536 to become an Anabaptist exhorter. Menno set no value The Men-nonites on learning or on dogmas; he preached the "new life" and religious simplicity; he condemned as un-Christian the waging of war, the taking of oaths, the union of church and state, and the baptizing of infants. From him sprang a special sect, known as Mennonites, which obtained adherents in the Netherlands, northwestern Germany, and Switzerland, and which has persisted to the present day.

Another type of Radical Protestant of the sixteenth century was Andrew Bodenstein (1480-1541), usually called Carlstadt from the town of his birth (in Bohemia). Carlstadt had been trained in theology at various German universities and had become a professorial colleague of Luther's at Wittenberg. Here he seems to have preceded Luther in developing the idea of "justification by faith," and jointly with Luther he was excommunicated from the Catholic Church by the papal bull of 1520. For a time he was very influential in the Lutheran movement at Wittenberg, but by 1525 his views had become much more radical than Luther's and he was compelled to flee for his life from Lutheran Saxony. He resided temporarily with Anabaptists in the Netherlands and eventually found refuge with Zwingli in Switzerland, where he spent his last years as professor in the university of Basel. Carlstadt was the first of the reformers

to write against celibacy as unscriptural and the first to take a wife—an example soon followed by Luther and others. He assailed, likewise as unscriptural, the Mass, confession, religious pictures and images, and all manner of traditional Christian practices. He fulminated against what he termed the compromising policy of Luther. He denied the necessity for any sacrament and for any special class of clergymen. At the same time he was something of a biblical critic, maintaining that some parts of the Scriptures were more reliable than other parts.

**Browne and Congregationalism** Another type was Robert Browne (1550-1633), an Englishman and a graduate of the university of Cambridge. He was licensed to preach as a clergyman of the Anglican Church, but, being dissatisfied with the organization and compromising spirit of Anglicanism, he formed a "congregation" of his personal disciples, under a "covenant" which refused "all godlie communion with wicked persons." In a volume which he published in 1582,<sup>1</sup> Browne contended that Christianity should be organized, not under pope or bishops or priests or secular princes, but in separate and independent congregations of lay Christians, who must be both believers and saints. Each such congregation should democratically draw up (independent of other congregations and of the state) a covenant, or rule, governing the faith and discipline of its members, and should freely choose its own pastor and other officers. Browne was repeatedly jailed on complaint of Anglican clergymen, and in his later life he grew more conservative and conformed, at least outwardly, to Anglicanism. But he had already contributed greatly to the rise of the English radical sects known variously as Independents, Separatists, or Congregationalists, as well as to the Puritan movement within the Anglican Church.

Congregationalism was an ecclesiastical polity which appealed particularly to groups of Radical Protestants, and there was a marked tendency for Anabaptists (who in time were designated more simply as Baptists) and other Evangelical sects to adopt Congregationalism. It was a church organization sufficiently loose to admit of many varieties of religious experience and actually

<sup>1</sup> Including his previously written *Treatise of Reformation without Taryng for Anie and Booke which sheweth the Life and Manners of all True Christians.*

to foster the multiplication of sects. In other words, it was peculiarly in harmony with the anarchistic character of Radical Protestantism.

Not all Radical Protestants of the sixteenth century were "evangelical" as we have defined this word above. Some, in fact, were highly suspicious of mysticism in religion and were quite devoted to reason. These, in reading and interpreting the Bible, sought to divest it of miraculous elements and to establish a pure Christianity which should be reasonable. The result was the emergence of Unitarian Rationalism and Unitarianism sects which denied the divinity of Christ and the doctrine of the Trinity and thereby departed most radically from the teachings not only of the Catholic Church but of all other Protestant bodies.

A celebrated Unitarian of the sixteenth century was a Spaniard, Miguel Serveto (1511-1553), commonly designated by his latinized name of Servetus. Servetus came of a middle-class family of lawyers, and, being of most curious turn of mind, he rambled for many years among several universities and a wide variety of studies, taking courses in law at Toulouse, in medicine at Paris and Montpellier, and in theology at Louvain. For a while he lectured at Paris on geometry and astronomy, endorsing the Copernican system and at the same time apologizing for astrology. For a while he practiced medicine at Avignon, and during the last twelve years of his life he was physician to the Catholic archbishop of Vienne (in southern France). In public Servetus conformed to the Catholic Church but privately he accepted the Bible as the sole guide to Christian faith and wrote out a theological treatise in defense of most Anabaptist principles though in denunciation of the generally accepted ideas of the Trinity and Christ's divinity. In a zealous attempt to convert the foremost Protestant leader of the time to his own views, Servetus corresponded with John Calvin and sent him the manuscript of the Unitarian treatise. Despite the fact that Calvin was immensely shocked and let Servetus know that he was shocked, the Unitarian physician, upon the discovery of his radical heresy by the Catholic authorities at Vienne in 1553, fled to Geneva and threw himself on the protection of Calvin. Calvin promptly had him tried for heresy and burned at the stake.

Of more enduring significance for the development of Unitari-

anism were two members of an Italian family of merchants, bankers, and lawyers, by the name of Sozzini. The elder, Lelio Sozzini (1525–1562), was trained as a lawyer, but, being a man of means and of religious and intellectual curiosity, he spent most of his life in travel and the pursuit of theological speculation. He sojourned for a time at Wittenberg, learning from Melanchthon the Lutheran teachings. Passing on to Geneva, he entered into friendly relations with Calvin and espoused Calvinism. Then, when the fate of Servetus drew his attention to doubts about the Trinity, he adopted Unitarian views, which he proceeded to spread in Germany and Switzerland. Lelio's "mission" was continued by his more famous and influential nephew, Fausto (1539–1604), who is usually cited by his latinized name of Socinus, and whose principles are generally termed "Socinian." Fausto Sozzini at first followed a mercantile career, doing business for himself at Lyons (in France) and for a princess of the Medici family at Florence (in Italy), and outwardly conforming to Catholic Christianity. Gradually, however, he came to disbelieve in the divinity of Christ and in personal immortality and in 1575 he departed finally from Italy and broke formally with the Catholic Church. After a sojourn at Basel, then a centre of theological debates, he took up his residence in Poland, under the patronage of an Italian physician at the royal court. He wrote and preached a good deal, and it was in large part through his efforts that Unitarian sects sprang up and flourished in Poland and also in Hungary.<sup>1</sup> Fausto Sozzini was not as impulsive as his uncle Lelio. He put more rationalist interpretations on the Bible, and was one of the eminent forerunners of the modern "higher critics" of Christianity.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Unitarianism had first been preached in eastern Hungary (Transylvania) by Francis David (1510–1579), who was successively a Catholic, a Lutheran, a Calvinist, and a Unitarian. David finally condemned all worship of Christ and died in prison. Sozzini undertook a mission to Hungary to moderate the views and influence of David, for Sozzini thought that Unitarianism did not preclude the paying of special honor and even "worship" to Christ. On the Socinian basis, a Unitarian Church, under "bishops," has had a continuous existence in Transylvania from the sixteenth century to the present day.

<sup>2</sup> Another forerunner of "liberal," if not critical, modern Protestantism was Jacob Hermansen (1560–1609), a Netherlander, commonly known by his latinized name of Arminius. He protested against the tendency of his fellow Calvinists to stress abstract dogma and argued against Calvin's doctrine of strict predestination. His disciples were persecuted and for a time banished by the severely Calvinist government of the Dutch Netherlands, but gradually Arminian prin-

Radical Protestantism, whether of the emotional Evangelical kind or of the rationalist Unitarian sort, was relatively insignificant in the sixteenth century. Its devotees were mainly of the lower classes, and it was vehemently denounced and bitterly persecuted not only by Catholics but by the major groups of Protestants—Lutherans, Calvinists, and Anglicans. Subsequently, however, the principles of Radical Protestantism exerted very real and growing influence on Protestantism as a whole. They seemed to an ever increasing number of Protestants the logical and natural outcome of the right of private judgment preached by Luther and of the dependence on Scriptural literalness emphasized by Calvin. On the one hand, Evangelical principles in time cleft Calvinism asunder, gave rise to Pietism among Lutherans and to Puritanism and Methodism among Anglicans, and provided the bases for the modern popularity of "Fundamentalism" among a great variety of sects—Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists, etc. On the other hand, Unitarian principles in time contributed to the development of Deism and a critical attitude toward religious authority, including that of the Bible, and paved the way for the "Liberal Christianity" which is nowadays widespread among all Protestant bodies and which is very far removed from the dogmatic and miraculous Christianity advocated by most sixteenth-century reformers, whether Catholic or Protestant.

Later Importance  
of Radical  
Protestantism

### 3. REFORM OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

We have now traced the Protestant revolt of the sixteenth century against the Catholic Church, and have seen how the three major forms of Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Anglicanism, together with a bewildering variety of small radical sects, appeared on the scene and divided among themselves almost half of the traditionally Catholic nations of Europe. The story of how, during that critical century, the other half retained their loyalty to the Catholic Church virtually as it had existed throughout the middle ages, remains to be told. The preservation of the papal monarchy and Catholic doctrine in a large part of Europe was due alike to religious and to political circumstances.

ciples became influential in Holland, England, and elsewhere, among Calvinists as among Radical Protestants.

It must not be supposed that pious critics of ecclesiastical abuses were confined to Protestants. There were many persons

**Demand for Re-form within the Catholic Church** who demanded sweeping reforms in discipline and a return of the clergy to a simple apostolic life, and yet who believed that whatever change was desirable could best be achieved by means of a reformation within the Catholic Church,—that is, without disturbing the unity of its organization or denying the validity of its dogmas. Even in countries which subsequently became Protestant, some of the foremost scholars of the period desired a moral reformation within Catholicism rather than a dogmatic rebellion against it.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, while the religious energy of part of Europe went into the revolutionary creation of Protestant churches and sects, that of another part fashioned a reformation of the Catholic system. And this Catholic reformation, on its religious side, was brought to a successful issue by means of the improved condition in the papal court, the labors of a great church council, and the activity of new monastic orders. A few words must be said about each of these religious elements in the Catholic reformation.

Emphasis has been put on the corruption that prevailed in papal affairs in the fifteenth century, and of the Italian and family interests which obscured to the Medici pope, Leo X (1513–1521), the importance of the Lutheran movement in Germany. And Leo's nephew, who became Clement VII (1523–1534), continued to act too much as an Italian prince and too little as the moral and religious leader of Catholicism in the contest which under him was joined with Zwinglians and Anglicans as well as with

**Reforming Popes** Lutherans. But under Paul III (1534–1549) was inaugurated the policy of appointing to high church offices men renowned for their virtue and learning rather than for family position or financial profit. This policy was maintained by a series of upright and far-sighted popes during the second half of the sixteenth century,<sup>2</sup> so that by the year 1600 a remarkable reformation had gradually been wrought in the papacy, among the cardinals, down through the prelates, even to the parish priests and monks.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> Especially Paul IV (1555–1559), a strict disciplinarian; Pius IV (1559–1565), the uncle of St. Charles Borromeo; Pius V (1566–1572), who was canonized as a saint; Gregory XIII (1572–1585), and Sixtus V (1585–1590).

The reforming zeal of individual popes was stimulated and reinforced by the work of the council of Trent (1545-1563). The idea of effecting a "reformation in head and members" by means of a general council of the Catholic Church had been invoked several times during the century. The Council of Trent that preceded the Protestant Revolt, but, before Luther, little had been accomplished in that way. .

With the widening of the breach between Protestantism and the medieval church, what had formerly been desirable now became imperative. It seemed to pious Catholics that every effort should be made to reconcile differences and to restore the unity of the church. It was argued that the errors of the manifold new theologies might be refuted by a clear statement of Catholic doctrine, and a reformation of discipline and morals would deprive the innovators of one of their most telling weapons against the church.

It was no easy task, in that troublous time, to hold an ecumenical council. There was mutual distrust between Catholics and Protestants. There was uncertainty as to the relative powers and prerogatives of council and pope. There were bitter national rivalries, especially between Italians and Germans. There was actual warfare between the chief Catholic ruling families—the Habsburgs of Germany and Spain and the royal house of France.

Yet despite these difficulties, which long postponed its convocation and repeatedly interrupted its labors, the council of Trent<sup>1</sup> consummated a great reform in the church and contributed materially to the preservation of the Catholic faith. The Protestants, whom the pope invited to participate, absented themselves; yet such was the number and renown of the Catholic bishops who responded to the summons that the council of Trent easily ranked with the eighteen ecumenical councils which had preceded it.<sup>2</sup> The work of the council was twofold—dogmatic and reformatory.

Dogmatically, the fathers at Trent offered no compromise to the Protestants. They confirmed with inexorable frankness the main points in Catholic theology which had been worked out in

<sup>1</sup> Trent, in the Tyrol, was selected largely by reason of its geographical location, being situated on the boundary between the German-speaking and Italian-speaking peoples.

<sup>2</sup> Its decrees were signed at its close (1563) by 4 cardinal legates, 2 cardinals, 3 patriarchs, 25 archbishops, 167 bishops, 7 abbots, 7 generals of orders, and 19 proxies for 33 absent prelates.

the thirteenth century by Thomas Aquinas and which before the appearance of Protestantism had been received everywhere in central and western Europe. They declared that historic tradition as well as the Bible was to be taken as the basis of the Christian religion, and that the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures belonged exclusively to the church. The Protestant teachings about grace and justification by faith were condemned, and the seven sacraments were pronounced indispensable. The miraculous and sacrificial character of the Lord's Supper (Mass) was reaffirmed. Belief in the invocation of saints, in the veneration of images and of relics, in purgatory and indulgences was explicitly stated, but precautions were taken to clear some of the doctrines of pernicious practices which at times had been connected with them. The spiritual authority of the Roman See was confirmed over all Catholicism; the pope was recognized as supreme interpreter of the canons and incontestable chief of bishops.

A volume of disciplinary statutes constituted the second achievement of the council of Trent. The sale of church offices was forbidden. Bishops and other prelates were ordered to reside in their respective dioceses, abandon worldly pursuits, and give themselves entirely to spiritual labors. Seminaries were to be established for the proper education and training of priests. While Latin was retained as the official and liturgical language, frequent sermons were to be preached in the vernacular. Indulgences were not to be issued for money, and no charge should be made for conferring the sacraments.

The seed sown by the council bore abundant fruit during several succeeding pontificates. The central government was completely reorganized. A uniform catechism was prepared at Rome, and by means of it laymen were systematically instructed in the tenets and obligations of their religion. Revisions were made in the service books of the church, and a new standard edition of the Latin Bible, the Vulgate, was issued. A list, called the Index, was prepared of dangerous and heretical books, **Index and Inquisition** which good Catholics were prohibited from reading. By these methods, discipline was in fact confirmed, morals purified, and the scandal of the immense riches and the worldly life of the clergy restrained. From an unusually strict law of faith and conduct, lapses were to be punishable by the medieval ecclesiastical court of the Inquisition,

which now zealously redoubled its activity, especially in Italy and in Spain.

A very important factor in the Catholic revival, not only in preserving all southern Europe to the church but also in preventing a complete triumph of Protestantism in the North, was the formation of several new religious orders, which sought to deepen the spiritual life of the people and to buttress the position of the church. The most celebrated of these orders, both for its labors in the sixteenth century and for its subsequent history, is the Society of Jesus, whose members are known commonly as Jesuits. The society was founded by Ignatius Loyola in 1534 and its constitution was finally approved by the pope six years later.<sup>1</sup>

In his earlier years, Ignatius (1491-1556) followed the profession of arms and as a patriotic Spaniard fought valiantly in the armies of the Emperor Charles V against the French. But while he was in a hospital, suffering from Ignatius Loyola a wound, he chanced to read a life of Christ and biographies of several saints, which, he tells us, worked a great change within him. From being a soldier of an earthly king, he would now become a knight of Christ and of the church. Instead of fighting for the glory of Spain and of himself, he would strive for the greater glory of God. Thus in the very year in which the German monk, Martin Luther, became the avowed and leading adversary of the Catholic Church, this Spanish soldier was starting on that remarkable career which was to make him Catholicism's chief champion.

After a few years' trial of his new life and several rather footless efforts to serve the church, Ignatius determined, at the age of thirty-three, to perfect his scanty education. It was while he was studying the classics, philosophy, and theology at the university of Paris that he made the acquaintance of the group of scholarly and pious men who became the first members of the Society of Jesus. Intended at first primarily for missionary labors among the Moslems, the order was speedily turned to other ends.

The organization of the Jesuits showed the military instincts of their founder. To the three usual vows of poverty, chastity,

<sup>1</sup> Another new order was that of the Oratory, founded in 1575 by St. Philip Neri. See above, p. 118.

and obedience, was added a fourth vow of special allegiance to the pope. The members were to be carefully trained during a long novitiate and were to be under the personal direction of a general, resident in Rome. Authority and obedience were stressed by the society. Then, too, St. Ignatius Loyola understood that the church was now confronted with conditions of war rather than of peace: accordingly he directed that his brothers should not content themselves with prayer and works of peace, with charity and local benevolence, but should adapt themselves to new circumstances and should strive in a multiplicity of ways to restore all things in the Catholic Church.

The Jesuits  
Thus it happened that the Jesuits, from the very year of their establishment, rushed to the front in the religious upheaval and conflict of the sixteenth century. In the first place, they sought to enlighten and educate the young. As schoolmasters they had no equals in Europe for many years. No less a scholar and scientist than Francis Bacon said of the Jesuit teaching that "nothing better has been put in practice." Again, by their wide learning and culture, no less than by the unimpeachable purity of their lives, they won back a considerable respect for the Catholic clergy. As preachers, too, they earned a high esteem by the clearness and simplicity of their sermons and instruction.

It was in the mission field, however, that the Jesuits achieved their most considerable results. They were mainly responsible for the recovery of Poland after that country had been seemingly lost to Calvinism and Unitarianism. They similarly conserved the Catholic faith in Bavaria and in the southern Netherlands. They aided considerably in maintaining Catholicism in Ireland. At the hourly risk of their lives, they ministered to their fellow Catholics in England under Elizabeth. In the midst of the greatest dangers and privations, they conducted missions among the teeming millions in India and China, among the Huron and Iroquois tribes of North America, and among the aborigines of Brazil and Paraguay. No means of influence, no source of power, was neglected that would win men to religion and to the authority of the bishop of Rome. Politics and agriculture were utilized, and likewise literature and science. The Jesuits were confessors of kings in Europe and apostles of the faith in Asia and America.

It has been pointed out already that the rapid diffusion of Protestantism was due to economic and political causes as well as to those narrowly religious. It may be said with equal truth that political and economic causes co-operated with the religious developments that we have just noted to maintain the supremacy of the Catholic Church in at least half the countries over which she had exercised her sway in 1500. For one thing, it is doubtful whether financial abuses had flourished as long or as vigorously in some countries as in others. For another, the political conditions in some states were more favorable than in others.

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In Italy was the pope's residence and see. He had bestowed many favors on important Italian families. He had often exploited foreign countries in behalf of Italian patronage. He had taken advantage of the political disunity of the peninsula to divide his local enemies and thereby to assure the victory of his own cause. Two popes of the sixteenth century belonged to the powerful Florentine family of the Medici; Florence remained loyal. The hearty support of the Emperor Charles V preserved the orthodoxy of Naples, and that of Philip II stamped out heresy in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

In Italy

In France

In France, the concordat of 1516 between pope and king had peacefully secured for the French monarch appointment of bishops and control of benefices within his country,— powers which the German princes and the English sovereigns secured by revolutionary change. Moreover, French Protestantism, by its political activities in behalf of effective checks upon the royal power, drove the king into Catholic arms. The cause of absolutism in France became the cause of Catholicism, and the latter was bound up with French patriotism to quite the same extent as English patriotism became linked with the fortunes of Anglicanism.

In Spain and Portugal, the monarchs obtained concessions from the pope like those accorded the French sovereigns. They gained a large measure of power over the Catholic Church within their countries and found it a most valuable ally in forwarding their absolutist tendencies. In Spain and Portugal

Moreover, the centuries-long struggle with Islam had endeared Catholic Christianity alike to Spaniards and to Portuguese and

rendered it an integral part of their national life. Spain and Portugal now remained fiercely Catholic.

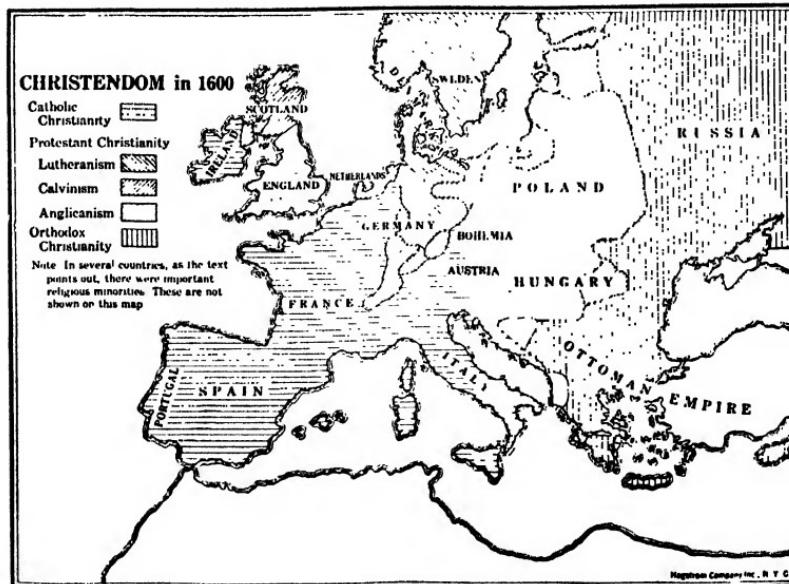
Somewhat similar was the case of Austria. Terrifying fear of the advancing Moslem Turk, joined with the political exigencies of the Habsburg rulers, threw that duchy with most of its dependencies into the hands of the pope. If the bishop of Rome, by favoring the Habsburgs, had lost England, he had at least saved Austria and most of central Europe.

Ireland and Poland—those two extreme outposts of Catholic Christendom—in course of time found in the Catholic faith a most effectual safeguard of nationality, a most valuable weapon against aggression or assimilation by powerful neighbors.

#### 4. THE THREE GREAT DIVISIONS OF CHRISTENDOM AT THE CLOSE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Long before the sixteenth century Christendom had been divided into two unequal parts, the smaller adhering to the Orthodox Church and comprising eastern Europe—Greece, the Balkan peninsula, Rumania, and Russia,—and the larger part embracing central and western Europe and professing allegiance to the Catholic Church. In the course of the sixteenth century, as a result of the religious and ecclesiastical upheaval which we have been describing in the present chapter, the Catholic part of Christendom was sundered by the rise of Protestantism. By the close of the century, there were three, instead of two, great divisions of Christendom: Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant.

To Catholic Christendom now remained Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, the southern Netherlands, the forest cantons of Switzerland, southern Germany (including the Rhine-land, Bavaria, and Austria), Ireland, Poland, Lithuania, Bohemia, northern Yugoslavia (Croatia), most of Hungary, and recent overseas conquests in the West Indies, South and Central America, Mexico, and the Philippine Islands. With Protestant Christendom were now ranged northern and central Germany, Scandinavia, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, the northern Netherlands, most of Switzerland, Scotland, and England. In some of the areas of central and western Europe there



was a good deal of overlapping. Protestant minorities existed in France, Ireland, the Rhineland, Bohemia, and Hungary. Catholic minorities survived in Great Britain, the northern Netherlands, and the states along the eastern shore of the Baltic. In general, however, it was northern Europe which constituted Protestant Christendom, while it was southern Europe which remained within the orbit of Catholic Christendom.

Catholic and Orthodox Christendoms had each been cultural units for a very long time, enshrining for centuries, under Christian auspices, the respective heritages of ancient Rome and ancient Greece. And in their interpretation of Christianity they had always had very much in common. Both accepted the basic idea of an authoritative ecclesiastical organization, consisting of a divinely ordained clergy of bishops, priests, and deacons, interpreting the Bible and tradition, dispensing the seven sacraments, effecting the miracle of transubstantiation, adoring the Trinity, believing in the divinity of Christ, honoring saints, venerating relics, and employing elaborate rituals. There were minor differences of usage and theology between Catholic and Orthodox but the really significant contrasts were two: the Orthodox denied the Catholic faith in the divine right of the pope to govern the whole Christian Church; and the Catholic Church reprobated the dependence of the Orthodox upon secular governments.

At the very time when the Catholic Church was losing its hold on northern Europe, the Orthodox Church of eastern Europe was experiencing a grave crisis and an internal readjustment. For centuries the Orthodox Church had centred in the patriarch of Constantinople and had been mainly an ecclesiastical adjunct to the Byzantine (Greek) Empire. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, however, with the capture of Constantinople by the Moslem Turks and with the expansion of the Ottoman Empire, the local patriarch became a political agent of the sultan, as well as the official representative of the sultan's Christian subjects.<sup>1</sup> One of the results was a loss of prestige to the patriarch of Constantinople at home and a demand on the part of Orthodox Christians outside of the Ottoman Empire for ecclesiastical independence. After much debate and insistence, the Russian emperor obtained the consent

Similarities between Catholic and Orthodox

Developments within Orthodox Christendom

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 15-16.

of the patriarch to a reorganization of the Orthodox Church in Russia, and in 1582 Moscow became the seat of an independent Russian patriarchate. Thenceforth, the Orthodox Church, while remaining doctrinally one, was divided administratively into the two national churches of Russians and Greeks, under the patriarchs of Moscow and Constantinople respectively, the former dominated by the Russian emperor and the latter by the Turkish sultan. Into Orthodox Christendom Protestantism did not penetrate.

The religious divergence between Catholic and Protestant was much greater than between Catholic and Orthodox, for Protestantism was essentially a revolt against the central idea of the church as held by Catholic and Orthodox alike. Yet at the close of the sixteenth century all three great divisions of Christendom still held to a large part of common Christianity. They could still be viewed as a unit when contrasted in social customs and institutions with the cultural areas of Islam and Buddhism. All Christians still revered Jesus as their common founder and inspirer. All magnified the Bible and cherished the memory of early apostles and martyrs. Moreover, the vast majority of Protestants retained a large part of the theology of the Catholic and Orthodox churches, including the dogmas of the Trinity, the divinity of Jesus, the fall of man and his redemption through the sacrifice of the cross, and the future life of rewards and punishments. Traditional Christian moralities and virtues continued to be preached by Protestants, as by Orthodox and Catholics.

Protestants as a whole were in agreement with the Orthodox against the Catholics on one doctrinal point, and that was the denial of the claims of the bishop of Rome and the consequent rejection of the papal government and authority. But on two fundamental points Protestants were as far removed from Orthodox as from Catholic Christians. (1) In their anxiety to purify Christianity and to restore it to its primitive character, they repudiated tradition and with it certain doctrines and practices which had gradually grown up, such as those connected with purgatory, indulgences, invocation of saints, veneration of relics, etc., and they introduced various changes in the traditional sacraments. (2) They made the Bible the supreme and sole authority for Christianity and

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proclaimed the right and ability of each person to derive from the Bible, without help of church or clergyman, the means of salvation. Thus to the Protestant, at least theoretically, authority resided in the infallibility of every individual, while to Catholic and Orthodox it rested with an infallible institution or church.

Relatively few Protestants of the sixteenth century grasped the full significance of their theory of authority. They preached it and their leaders frequently invoked it in their own behalf, but not many of them could willingly resign themselves to the thought of allowing as many interpretations of the Christian religion as there were individual Christians. To most of them it seemed as though all good Christians must find, under divine guidance, the same truth in the same Bible and that therefore their principle of individual infallibility would produce a single kind of reformed and pure Christianity. Luther was sure that he read his Bible diligently and piously and that his form of Protestantism must therefore be the true religion. But Calvin was quite as sure that he read his Bible with the utmost piety and diligence and that consequently his type of Protestantism must be devoid of error. Henry VIII seemed to regard himself as infallible, and a like attitude was apparent in many of the sectarians whom he or Calvin or Luther banned or put to death.

In the circumstances, though not intentionally, Protestantism was no such unit of faith and conduct as Catholicism or Orthodoxy. Despite conferences and debates among Protestant theologians and the employment of compulsion on the part of Protestant kings and princes, it was obvious before the close of the sixteenth century that not only was Protestant Christendom divided into three major parts, but that each part was tending toward ever increasing subdivision and that all parts were being increasingly influenced by radical sects. The three major parts, as we have seen, were: (1) Lutheranism, dominant in the central and northern principalities of Germany and in the states of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Estonia; (2) Calvinism, supplying, under various names, common models of faith and organization to state churches of the northern Netherlands, Switzerland, and Scotland, and to minority groups in southern Germany, Hungary, France, and England; (3) Anglicanism, established as the

state religion of England, with minority followings in Scotland and Ireland. In addition, Radical Protestantism permeated all Protestant Christendom, from Poland and Transylvania in the east to Great Britain in the west, comprising such minor sects as Baptists, Congregationalists, and Unitarians.

The principal respects in which Lutherans, Calvinists, Anglicans, and Radicals differed from one another may be briefly summarized under five headings:

(1) *Method of Salvation.* The Lutherans held that every man may be saved by faith in Christ; the Calvinists, that only such persons can be saved as are predestined, or "elected," by God to be saved. The Anglicans appeared to accept the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith, although their official creed—the Thirty-Nine Articles—was sufficiently ambiguous to admit of a Calvinist interpretation. Most of the Radicals maintained that man is saved by an emotional experience, "conviction of sin" and "conversion," though some of the extreme Unitarians seemed doubtful of any eternal salvation for the individual and suggested that if there were such a thing it could be attained to only by the exercise of reason.

(2) *Sacraments.* Calvinists recognized only two sacraments—baptism and the Lord's Supper (eucharist). Lutherans and Anglicans retained, in addition to these two sacraments, the rite of confirmation, and Anglicans devised a special rite of holy orders. The official declaration of Anglicanism that there are "two major sacraments" made it possible for some Anglicans—the later so-called high-church party—to honor the seven sacraments of the Catholic and Orthodox churches. On the other hand, Radical Protestants as a rule rejected the whole sacramental system; they observed baptism and the Lord's Supper, but only as symbolic rites and usually only for adults.

(3) *Substitutes for Transubstantiation.* Almost all Protestants repudiated the traditionally miraculous nature of the eucharist, the doctrine of Catholics and Orthodox that by the word of the priest the bread and wine are actually changed into the Body and Blood of Christ. But they differed about substitutes. The Lutherans maintained what they called a "real presence," that Christ is *with* and *in* the bread and wine, as fire is in a hot iron, to borrow the metaphor of Luther himself. The Calvinists and all the Radical sects, on the other hand, perceived in the eucharist,

not the continuing mystical sacrifice of Christ, but a simple commemoration of the Last Supper; to them the bread and wine were mere symbols of the Body and Blood. As for the Anglicans, their position in this matter as in so many others was ambiguous; their official confession of faith declared at once that the Supper is the partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ and that the communicant receives Christ only spiritually. The mass of Anglicans undoubtedly inclined to the Calvinist and Radical interpretation, though some of the later high-church party leaned toward the Catholic explanation.

(4) *Ecclesiastical Organization.* All Protestants considerably modified the Catholic (and Orthodox) system of a divinely ordained clergy of bishops, priests, and deacons, distinct from the laity, and entrusted with the government of the church, the administration of the sacraments, and the preaching of moral and dogmatic theology. The Anglicans retained the orders of bishop, priest, and deacon and claimed that their hierarchy was continuous, through "apostolic succession," with the medieval and ancient Catholic Church. But for at least a hundred years from the time of Queen Elizabeth all Anglican priests were preachers rather than "sacramental" priests in the earlier Catholic sense, and from the beginning of Anglicanism the laity, as represented in the English parliament, were even more responsible than the clergy for determining the faith and government of the church. The Lutherans denounced the traditional distinction between clergy and laity, denied the importance of apostolic succession, and treated the office of bishop as a merely human convenience in ecclesiastical administration.<sup>1</sup> The Calvinists did away with bishops altogether and kept only one order of clergymen—the presbyters (or priests)—who, by means of local and periodic assemblies (or synods) were to govern the church. Most of the Radicals adopted a congregational form of church government, vesting supreme authority in the democratic decisions of a body of laymen and making the "pastor" or "preacher" or "elder" an employee of the congregation.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The office of archbishop was retained by both Anglicans and Lutherans. For example, the archbishop of Canterbury became primate of the Anglican Church, and the archbishop of Upsala became primate of the Lutheran Church in Sweden. These Protestant ecclesiastics were agents of their respective national monarchs quite as much as of their respective churches.

<sup>2</sup> The title of bishop was retained by the Unitarian Church in Hungary

(5) *Ceremonies.* The Anglicans kept a good deal of Catholic ritual, although in the form of translation from Latin to English. Calvinists and Radicals, on the other hand, worshipped with extreme simplicity; their cult usually comprised extemporaneous prayer, Bible-reading, hymn-singing, and sermon-preaching in church buildings that were rigorously bared of superfluous ornaments. Between Anglican formalism and Calvinist austerity, the Lutherans steered a middle course; they devised no uniform liturgy, but tended to employ various forms and ceremonies.

It must be fully apparent that the unity of religious faith which had long obtained in central and western Europe was broken in the sixteenth century, not only between Protestants and Catholics, but among Protestants. A third great division of Christianity had now emerged, where formerly only the divisions of Catholic and Orthodox had existed, and this new third division, from its very nature and essence, already promised to disintegrate into innumerable sects and to substitute individualist for collective Christianity. This was one of the impressive results of the religious upheaval of the sixteenth century.

Individualist Christianity

##### 5. INTER-CHRISTIAN INTOLERANCE AND WAR

Another, and most distressing, result of the religious upheaval of the sixteenth century was a great access of religious intolerance. Just prior to the upheaval, almost all inhabitants of central and western Europe were Catholic Christians, living in religious peace with one another. Immediately after the upheaval, there were still Catholic Christians but there were also Lutheran Christians and Anglican Christians and Calvinist Christians and numerous little sects such as Mennonites, Baptists, and Unitarians, quarrelling and fighting with each other and either persecuting or being persecuted.

Intolerance, of course, was no novelty in the sixteenth century. It was undoubtedly as old as the human race, and it had been pretty constantly displayed throughout all human history by clan, nation, and empire, by prince and populace, and by every kind of religion from ancient Judaism to medieval Islam. Christianity in its early days had appeared to be an exception to the general rule; it was founded by a victim of religious intolerance, and it spread

Earlier Religious Intolerance

for three centuries without any use of force on its part and in the face of bitter persecution on the part of the pagan government of the Roman Empire.

Subsequently, when Christianity became the state religion of the Roman Empire, a change occurred. A Christian emperor of the fourth century excluded heretics from civil office and threatened them with fines, confiscation of property, banishment, and even death. In the year 385 seven heretics were put to death by Christian officials at Trier. Gradually, prelates of the Catholic Church acquiesced in and then applauded and finally abetted the revival of intolerance throughout Christendom.

In theory, at least, the intolerance of the Catholic Church in the middle ages was not extended to non-Christians or to members of the Orthodox Church. The latter, though accounted schismatics, were deemed good enough Christians to merit full liberty, and a great medieval pope condemned in no uncertain terms the Catholic crusaders who captured Constantinople and slew Orthodox Christians. The popes, moreover, repeatedly forbade Catholics to attempt the forceful conversion of Moslems, Jews, or other non-Christians; conversion to Christianity was to be preached but not compelled, and no pagan, infidel, or Jew was to be punished for refusing to accept Christianity.

There was great popular prejudice on the part of medieval Christians against Moslems, as there was on the part of Moslems against Christians, but while armed Moslems invaded Christendom and armed Christians engaged in crusades against Islam in the Holy Land and in Spain, leaders of the hostile religions usually treated each other with mutual courtesy and respect. In Spain, during the middle ages, there was much friendly intercourse, as well as some political fighting, between Moslems and Catholics.

There was also great popular prejudice on the part of medieval Christians against Jews, and the Jews, unlike the Moslems, were too few and too scattered to undertake any serious counter-offensive against Christendom. Christian Prejudice against Jews Jews were formally tolerated by the Catholic Church and were expressly exempt from its courts and discipline; they were permitted to have their own synagogues and rabbis and to practice their religion. But the widespread prejudice against them was manifested in intolerant actions of lay

governments and lower-class mobs, in which clergymen sometimes participated. Jews were ordinarily obliged to live in a certain part of a town (the ghetto) and to wear a distinctive badge. While they were encouraged to serve as traders and bankers, most other occupations were closed to them. Often they suffered from mob violence. And occasionally a king would banish Jews from his realm; they had thus been banished from England in 1290 and from France in 1306.

However, it was not against Jews or pagans or schismatics that the Catholic Church directed intolerance; it was against its own baptized members who preached doctrines or practices incompatible with its creed and organization and who were termed heretics. Heretics were viewed as peculiarly depraved persons, and as singularly dangerous, because they might lead others into error. Heresy, indeed, was regarded as the worst kind of pestilential disease, ruining souls rather than bodies, and therefore amply warranting every effort to quarantine and stamp it out. Besides, heresy in religion was often associated with opposition to the economic system or to existing government, and its suppression was frequently demanded for political or economic reasons. It was easily confused with treason and anarchism and social revolution.

In the thirteenth century the Catholic Church had established a special court, the ecclesiastical court of the "Holy Office," commonly called the Inquisition, to ferret out heresy and to try heretics. Its members were monks appointed by the pope or by a bishop, and, as was usual in other courts of the period, the Inquisition conducted its proceedings in secret and used torture to extort confessions from the accused and evidence from the witnesses. Heretics adjudged guilty were sentenced to fasting and prayer, and sometimes to fines or imprisonment. The church itself formally refused to put anyone, even a heretic, to death, but the Inquisition was allowed and urged to condemn obstinate heretics to be "handed over to the secular arm," that is, to the lay government of the locality. And the lay government was expected to punish such heretics by burning them at the stake. Sometimes, pious or politic kings took it upon themselves, without any support from the papal Inquisition, to suppress heresy by fire and sword.

Persecution  
of  
Heretics

The  
Medieval  
Inquisi-  
tion

**Seeming Decrease of Intolerance on Eve of Protestant Movement**

It must now be evident that Christians of the sixteenth century had behind them a long and firmly established tradition of intolerance, especially in respect of heretics. On the other hand, signs were not lacking of a diminution of religious intolerance, or at least of a lessening of the number of capital executions for heresy, in the second half of the fifteenth century and on the eve of the Protestant revolt of the sixteenth century. Perhaps it was because no threatening heresies then appeared. Perhaps it was because the contemporary vogue of classicism and humanism lessened the zeal and mitigated the intolerance of many potentates in church and state. Perhaps it was because Christendom, then for the first time in close contact with a vast variety of dissident religions in the Far East and Far West, was becoming infected with a curious sympathy for dissent. Perhaps it was because some Catholic Christians were seriously questioning medieval practices of the church and were beginning to believe that religious intolerance and persecution were contrary to Christ's teaching and inimical to the welfare of Christian nations.<sup>1</sup>

True it was that in Spain Ferdinand and Isabella set up in 1480 a special royal Inquisition which took energetic measures against religious dissenters in the peninsula and which extended its operations to the New World in 1516. True it was, too, that the Jews were expelled *en masse* from Spain in 1492. True it was, also, that a papal bull of 1484 identified witchcraft with heresy and urged that harsh measures be taken against witches. But the so-called "Spanish Inquisition" was intended to secure national unity as much as religious uniformity, and for some time it was frowned upon by the papacy. And when the papal Inquisition, in the sixteenth century, assumed jurisdiction over trials of alleged witches, it tended to interpret the papal condemnation of witchcraft leniently, if not sceptically. Intolerance was still the rule for religion, but there were enough exceptions to the rule at the opening of the sixteenth century to render plausible the hypothesis that, if the humanist rationalism of that time had not been suddenly halted and silenced by religious upheaval and revolution, religious toleration might

<sup>1</sup> Something of this idea was implicit in the *Utopia* of Sir Thomas More, and in writings of other humanists of the time.

have made earlier and greater gains in Christendom than was actually the case.

The actual historical fact was, however, that in the excitement of Protestant revolt and Catholic reformation Christendom witnessed an outburst of religious intolerance and cruelty such as the world never before or since beheld. It was no time, in the midst of the great religious upheaval of the sixteenth century, for humanists to counsel compromise or for anyone to assume an attitude of indifference to religion. Catholic leaders felt that they were defending traditional Christian civilization against anarchical forces of rebellion and greed. Protestant leaders felt quite as sincerely that they were restoring the pure Gospel and safeguarding it against despotism, superstition, and corruption. To the former, Luther and Calvin and all the so-called "reformers" were possessed of devils; to the latter, the pope was the beast, the "anti-Christ." From Sweden to Italy and from England to Hungary, men grew passionate about religion, and invective became fashionable in speech and writing.

The bitterness of debate about matters of faith was rendered more bitter by the attendant scramble of ambitious, capitalistically minded ecclesiastics, lay lords, burghers, and princes to profit financially from the upheaval. Seemingly the only thing on which Catholic and Protestant leaders could agree was the necessity of restraining the peasants and artisans, among whom there was considerable response, as we have already seen, to the riotous incitement of radical preachers.

Kings and princes, intent at this time upon creating national states and strengthening monarchical authority, could hardly view with equanimity the existence of bitterly quarrelsome religious factions and divisions among their subjects, some of whom were only too willing to put loyalty to pope or Bible before loyalty to temporal sovereign. It was but natural, therefore, that the rulers of every state in central and western Europe, whether they were Catholic or Protestant, should seek to give full force to the old idea that political unity depended largely upon religious unity and that consequently each state should employ its power and influence to oblige all its Christian citizens to conform to one official kind of Christianity. Naturally, too,

Outburst  
of Intoler-  
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Economic  
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Catholics applauded the king who forced his subjects to be Catholic, and Protestants praised the prince who compelled his subjects to be Protestant. In the one case he was represented as the bulwark of civilization; in the other, as the palladium of liberty and progress. All of which was highly favorable to religious (and national) bigotry.

**Almost Universal Intolerance of Catholics and Protestants** From the time when Leo X appreciated the gravity of the Lutheran movement, he and succeeding popes of the sixteenth century banned Protestants right and left and begged secular rulers to suppress heresy by every means within their power. The more upright a pope was in private life, the more intolerant he was of public dissent. The reforming council of Trent organized a systematic censorship of heretical and anti-Catholic books, quickened the Inquisition into vigorous activity against heretics and persons suspected of heresy, and called solemnly upon all Catholic princes to enforce its decrees. On the other hand, Luther not only damned pope and urged secular rulers to use force against Catholics but also cursed Anabaptists and other Radical sects and invoked against them the aid of temporal princes. Nor was Calvin an apostle of religious toleration; he would permit neither Catholic nor dissenting Protestant to reside at Geneva, and the Unitarian Servetus who had the temerity to visit Geneva he burned at the stake.

**In Southern Europe** Monarchs in Spain, Portugal, and Italy remained Catholic, and consequently they sought—with almost complete success—to keep Protestantism out of their countries. They employed the Inquisition, the Index, spies, police, and army to get rid of religious dissent and make all their subjects conform to a peculiarly rigid type of Catholicism. Comparatively few professed Protestants were actually put to death in these countries, not because of any special tenderness for Protestantism, but because it never obtained any serious foothold in southern Europe. The several thousand victims of the Inquisition in Spain were chiefly persons of Moorish or Hebrew descent who had been converted to Catholicism and were suspected of relapsing into Islam or Judaism, or they were professed Catholics who were thought to be too mystical or too "liberal" or too tolerant. Such a famous Catholic as Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits, was twice imprisoned by the Inquisition.

In the Holy Roman Empire the emperor and a majority of the electors remained Catholic, but many princes became Lutheran and some became Calvinist. Protestant princes persecuted Catholic subjects; Catholic princes persecuted Protestant subjects; and Protestant princes warred with the Catholic emperor. After a bitter struggle, a treaty—the peace of Augsburg—was signed in 1555, as we have seen, between the emperor and the princes, whereby each prince obtained the privilege of being either Lutheran or Catholic as he might desire but also the recognized right to compel all his subjects to conform to the kind of Christianity which he professed. The result was that religious intolerance continued to be the rule within each of the several German states and presently led, in the first half of the seventeenth century, to one of the longest and most destructive civil and international wars in human annals—the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

In Scandinavia, Finland, and Estonia, the Lutheran kings of Denmark and Sweden destroyed Catholicism and suppressed dissent by banishments, confiscations, and executions.

In Scotland, Catholic clergymen, with the aid of the crown, at first tried to stop the preaching of Protestantism by similar means, but soon Calvinist nobles, urged on by John Knox, were deposing the Catholic queen, Mary Stuart, seizing the government, and killing Catholics. Mary Stuart was imprisoned and subsequently beheaded, for religious and political reasons, on orders of her cousin and rival, the Protestant Queen Elizabeth of England.

In England itself there was similar religious intolerance, with curiously fluctuating objectives. Henry VIII in his effort to establish and maintain a separate, middle-of-the-road Anglican Church, distinguished between Catholics who persevered in acknowledging the claims of the pope and Protestants who repudiated the seven sacraments; the latter he burned, while the former he merely beheaded. Under his sickly son and successor, Edward VI, Catholics were persecuted and Protestants were tolerated. Queen Mary Tudor, in her attempt to restore Catholicism, persecuted and burned Anglicans, Calvinists, and Radical Protestants. Queen Elizabeth, in turn, enacted drastic laws against Catholics and put many of them to death, in theory at least on charges of "treason,"

and at the same time she harassed and imprisoned Baptists, Congregationalists, and other Protestant dissenters from Anglicanism. Later, in the seventeenth century, when Radical Protestants obtained the upper hand for a time in England, they howed themselves not less intolerant of Catholicism and Anglicanism.

**In France** France, also, was prey to religious intolerance and war during the greater part of the sixteenth century. King Francis I and his son and grandsons, who succeeded him, adhered to Catholicism, and, though for political reasons they gave aid to Protestant princes in Germany against the Catholic emperor, they were intolerant of Protestantism within France. Despite persecution, however, Protestantism (especially Calvinism) spread in France and gave rise to a series of three-cornered civil wars among a faction of Huguenots who aspired to dominate the realm, a faction of militant Catholics who wished to destroy the Huguenots, and a faction of "political" Catholics who were less interested in the complete triumph of any particular religion than in the preservation of national unity. Sometimes the king coöperated with one faction and sometimes with another; it was while under the temporary influence of the militant Catholic faction that the youthful King Charles IX consented in 1572 to the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day, in which several thousand Huguenots were cruelly butchered. At length, the leader of the Huguenot faction, with the support of the faction of political Catholics, became king as Henry IV and proceeded to consolidate his position by two extraordinary measures: first, he conciliated the French Catholics by abjuring Protestantism and becoming a Catholic himself; second, he conciliated the French Huguenots by granting them a large degree of religious freedom.

This grant, the so-called edict of Nantes (1598), was highly significant in the modern story of the slow painful growth of

**The Edict  
of Nantes,  
an Early  
Step  
toward  
Religious  
Toleration**

religious liberty. The edict of Nantes contained the following provisions: (1) private worship and liberty of conscience were allowed to Protestants throughout France; (2) public worship was permitted to Protestants in two hundred enumerated towns and in some three thousand castles; (3) financial support was promised by the government to Protestant schools; (4) the publi-

cation of Protestants books was legalized; (5) Protestants were accorded full civil and political rights; (6) Protestants might freely assemble and exercise certain judicial functions among themselves; and (7), as a special guaranty that the foregoing privileges would be respected, Protestants were to have complete control of two hundred fortified towns for eight years.

It has sometimes been argued that the principle of religious liberty was one of the outstanding results of the upheaval of the sixteenth century, particularly of the rise of Protestantism. Perhaps it was so, in the long run and incidentally. But almost every sincere Christian at the time of the upheaval, whether he was Catholic or Protestant, was fanatically attached to the maintenance and spread of his own ideas of Christianity and entertained no real devotion to abstract principles of general religious freedom. Henry IV of France showed himself a bad Protestant by becoming a Catholic and a bad Catholic by tolerating Protestants; his zealous Protestant subjects were not satisfied with what they had obtained, and he himself was eventually assassinated by a mad Catholic.

The edict of Nantes was dictated less by deep religious conviction than by pressing political need. After a half-century of civil war in France, Protestants appeared too strong to be exterminated and not strong enough to exterminate Catholics, and it was obvious to a statesman like Henry IV that if France was to survive as a great power, Frenchmen must be restrained from fighting one another about religion.

It was likewise with the first experiments in religious toleration outside of France. They were not made in countries pretty solidly Catholic or Protestant, nor at the behest of leaders of the majority religion, but in countries whose citizens were divided in religion and usually on the initiative of a politic, national monarch. In Poland, King Sigismund II (1548-1572), a Catholic himself who had married a Calvinist princess, pursued a tortuous but on the whole conciliatory course in dealing with religious divisions—Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, and Unitarian,—with such success that the Polish parliament in the year following his death, while confirming the privileged position of the Catholic Church, granted religious liberty to all non-Catholics. In Hungary, the invading Moslem Turks found it convenient to accord

Steps  
toward  
Religious  
Toleration  
outside  
France

religious freedom to all kinds of Christians, and in Transylvania a Unitarian prince deemed it safer to tolerate Catholics and Calvinists than to attempt their destruction.

In fact, while the religious upheaval of the sixteenth century was immediately productive of unprecedented intolerance and bloodshed, it served to create a situation which, in the long run, was favorable to religious toleration. In the first place, it was gradually discovered in countries where political considerations dictated some accommodation among rival faiths that the toleration of religious differences was not necessarily destructive of national unity, that a state or a national monarchy might be strengthened, rather than weakened, by extending its protection to religious minorities.

Secondly, sincere Christians themselves, especially if they were of a minority group in a given country, were anxious to secure toleration for themselves and could be counted upon to second the efforts of conciliatory statesmen. In Protestant countries the Catholic minority espoused the principle of religious liberty, while in Catholic countries Protestants were natural advocates of freedom. Gradually, as the number of different churches and sects increased, various kinds of Protestants found it possible (and even desirable) to tolerate each other, particularly in order to present a united front against Catholicism. At length when Protestants had become habituated to the practice of toleration among themselves, they discovered that the heavens would not fall if they extended it to Catholics.

Finally, the terrible intolerances practiced and the deadly wars waged between one and another kind of Christians in the sixteenth century contributed to a later reaction against religious strife, a reaction which found expression at first in pietism and subsequently in rationalism. Pietism, which in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries affected many pious Protestants and Catholics, tended to push theological differences into the background, to emphasize the peaceful character of Christ's teachings, and to stress rivalry in good works rather than rivalry in intolerance. Rationalism, which reached formidable proportions in the eighteenth century in both Catholic and Protestant countries, questioned the commonly accepted dogmas of all existing churches and turned the attention of many an intellectual from

the supernatural to the natural, from theology to science, and from church to state. Modern religious liberty, as we shall presently see, owes vastly more to rationalists and pietists than to sixteenth-century Protestants or Catholics.<sup>1</sup>

#### 6. OTHER EFFECTS OF THE RELIGIOUS UPHEAVAL

So far, we have discussed two outstanding effects of the religious upheaval of the sixteenth century. One was the creation of a Protestant division of Christendom, differing widely from the earlier ones (Catholic and Orthodox), and tending toward endless subdivision and disintegration. The other effect was the immediate stimulation of religious intolerance and inter-Christian war on an unprecedented scale.

There were other effects, however, of great importance. In the first place, the upheaval gave a marked impetus to a stressing of morals. Not only were many minds turned temporarily from other intellectual pursuits to theological controversy, but the individual Christian, whether Catholic or Protestant, was expected to prove by external conduct that his particular religion inculcated a higher moral standard than any other. Protestant clergymen had to be models of deportment for their flocks, and Catholics looked askance, as never before, at scandalous behavior of bishops and priests. At the same time, it became the fashion of one religious group to charge the other with moral turpitude. Catholics especially assailed Protestantism for denying the sacramental character of marriage, introducing divorce, and dishonoring the Virgin Mary, thereby lowering the position of women and degrading the home. Protestants, in turn, accused Catholicism of fostering the same monstrous ends by prescribing celibacy for the clergy and by shutting women in convents. Lying was thought by many Protestants to be a monopoly of Catholics and financial dishonesty was deemed by many Catholics a specialty of Protestants.

In this environment of moral earnestness and moral recrimination, Puritanism arose and flourished. Puritanism involved tremendous devotion to a singularly straight-laced code of morals and a high degree of intolerance of persons who contravened any provision of such a code, especially of persons who appeared to get enjoyment from "worldly" pleasures. Puritanism appeared

<sup>1</sup> See below, ch. xi, sec. 3.

among Catholics, Lutherans, and Anglicans, but it flourished most luxuriantly among Calvinist and Radical Protestants. It was exemplified in campaigns against blasphemy, bull-fights, dancing, theatrical productions, immoral books, and profanation of the Lord's Day.

Catholics and Protestants alike invoked censorship of the press and the stage, with a view not only to suppressing heresy and dissent but also to expurgating the lewd, the lascivious, and the vicious. It was for this twofold end that Pope Paul IV, with the approval of the council of Trent, issued the first ecclesiastical "Index of Prohibited Books" in 1559. The national monarchs of England, France, and Spain, urged on by their religious advisors, had already established similar state censorships within their respective realms, and by the end of the sixteenth century almost every government in Europe, whether Protestant or Catholic, was permitting the publication of only such books and the production of only such plays as were formally "licensed" by its agents.<sup>1</sup>

Against blasphemy Puritan Catholics and Puritan Protestants were alike arrayed. Pope Pius IV authorized in 1564 the establishment of a special society of Catholic men—the Holy Name Society—for the purpose of stamping out the practice of taking God's name in vain; and two years later Philip II of Spain prescribed for "profane swearers" ten years at hard labor in the galleys. As examples of corresponding Protestant fervor against blasphemy may be cited a succession of enactments in England and Scotland against "grievous and abominable oaths." It was the same puritanism which led popes of the century to condemn bull-fighting and caused many Protestant divines to lift up their voices against dancing.

In the observance of holy days, there was marked difference between Catholics and Protestants. For centuries it had been customary for Christians on Sundays and on a number of other special holidays during the year to attend Mass and thereafter to engage in amusements and merry-making, sometimes, too, in labor. This custom was so firmly entrenched in countries which

<sup>1</sup> The only exception of importance was the government of the northern (Dutch) Netherlands. Here there was a nominal censorship but it was not rigorously enforced, and for a long time books were published in the Netherlands which could not be published elsewhere.

remained Catholic that not even the most puritanically minded Catholic leaders of the sixteenth century tried very seriously to alter it, and therefore it has continued to the present day to mark the Catholic observance of Sundays and other holidays. On the other hand, the Protestants abolished most of the special holidays, partially because they repudiated the veneration of saints in whose honor such holidays had been set apart, and partially because they begrudged the economic losses resulting from idleness on so many days during the year. Besides, while Luther and his followers were willing to retain much of the Catholic custom of Sunday-observance, Calvin and particularly his disciples in Scotland and England, together with numerous Radical Protestants, revolted against it utterly. These Puritans identified the Christian Sunday with the Jewish Sabbath and believed that all the Old Testament prescriptions concerning the latter should be enforced in respect of the former. It was Puritan Calvinists who in 1571 secured the passage of a law in Scotland which prohibited on Sunday "gaming, playing, passing to taverns and ale-houses, selling of meat and drink, and wilful remaining away from Kirk in time of sermon." Thenceforth, on what had formerly been a day of gladness, a pall of gloom fell in Britain.

The religious upheaval of the sixteenth century also had significant effects on art. For a thousand years, from the time of the Emperor Justinian in the sixth century, a distinctive Christian art had flourished and the best of all art in Europe had been employed in the service of the church.

As we have seen, the popes at the beginning of the sixteenth century had been the foremost patrons of architecture, sculpture, painting, and music.<sup>1</sup> After the upheaval, popes continued to patronize art, and much the same art-forms continued to be cherished and developed in Catholic countries. But the situation was now different in Protestant countries. Protestants, by abolishing the Mass, decrying ritual, and emphasizing the sermon, halted cathedral-building and turned from ecclesiastical architecture which was gorgeous to that which was bald and bare, from mystical fanes to plain auditoriums. At the same time, their repugnance to what they deemed superstitious or idolatrous in Catholicism, led Protestants to discountenance ecclesiastical sculpture and painting and to cause the more fanatical and puri-

Effects on  
Art

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 108, 112, 115-117.

tical among them to go about smashing religious images and pictures, altars and organs, crucifixes and stained-glass windows.<sup>1</sup> Only in hymnology and certain forms of music did the Protestant churches make any original contribution to art. Of course, the pictorial and plastic arts continued to exist and to develop in Protestant countries, but outside the churches rather than within them and dealing with secular, rather than with religious, subjects. The rise of Protestantism had at least temporarily a deleterious effect on the progress of art and art-appreciation.

Nor is it at all clear that the rise of Protestantism immediately promoted any considerable "enlightenment" or "progress." These somewhat intangible values of modern civilization are more plausibly attributable to the scientific advance of modern times, and if a list of great modern inventors and scientists should be compiled, it would be found to include as many Catholics as Protestants and a fairly large sprinkling of persons who were neither. It is true that the Protestants were intent upon destroying "superstition," and that the council of Trent, partially by reason of Protestant taunts, sought to eradicate "superstitious abuses" from Catholicism, but Protestants surpassed Catholics in the practice of what is nowadays universally acknowledged to have been a superstition, the very horrible superstition of witchcraft.

Witchcraft, as we have seen, had been detected and denounced by a pope in the latter part of the fifteenth century, and for a time Catholic officials were zealous in hunting and punishing witches. From the middle of the sixteenth century, however, the persecution of witchcraft rapidly abated in most Catholic countries; the Inquisition exercised a humane and restraining influence on it, particularly in Italy and Spain; and in 1623 Pope Gregory XV finally forbade the infliction of the death-penalty upon any person who was accused of witchcraft unless he had actually committed murder. Only in France, among Catholic countries, was the hunt for witches long continued and truly terrible. Here, it was fanatically urged on by the otherwise reasonable lawyer and philosopher Jean Bodin.

<sup>1</sup> One such iconoclast recorded with no little pride: "We went . . . with officers and soildiers and . . . we pulled down two mighty great angells with wings, and divers other angells, and the four evangelists and Peter with his Keies over the chappel door, and about a hundred Cherubims and angells and divers superstitious letters in gold."

And here its victims were numerous, one royal judge boasting that during fifteen years (1576-1591) he had sentenced nine hundred witches to death.

But at the very time when the witchcraft superstition was losing its hold in most Catholic countries, it was being eagerly accepted and widely spread in Protestant countries. Both Luther and Calvin believed in witchcraft, and Protestants generally, in their attachment to the Bible, felt themselves divinely commissioned to enforce such an Old Testament injunction as "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." John Fischart (1545-1591), a German and the most indefatigable and powerful Protestant publicist of his time, not only assailed pope and priests and particularly the Jesuits with savage fury, but also directed his picturesque vituperation against witches. He translated Bodin's work and gave it a new title indicative of his own imaginative genius: *Concerning the liberated, raging Devil's army of possessed, mad witches and wizards, spiteful conjurors, soothsayers, necromancers, poisoners, spell-weavers, traitors, night-birds, sight-destroyers, and all other kinds of magicians, and their monstrous deeds: How they can be legally recognized, apprehended, stopped, discovered, investigated, examined by torture, and punished.*

It was in Germany that trials and torturings and killings of alleged witches were most numerous, but the contagion of the dreadful superstition was soon caught by other Protestant countries. The English parliament enacted in 1563 a statute "against conjurations, enchantments, and witchcrafts"; and during the reign of Queen Elizabeth there were more than a hundred trials for witchcraft in England and about fifty executions. And, during the greater part of the seventeenth century, the craze, instead of abating, became more intense in Germany and England, and also developed alarmingly in Scotland and Scandinavia. Lutherans and Anglicans and Calvinists seemed to be equally obsessed, and perhaps the climax was reached by Radical Evangelical Protestants—Puritans and Congregationalists.

Immediately, at any rate, the religious upheaval of the sixteenth century did not promote learning and popular education any more than it got rid of superstition. Our present-day systems of universal schooling did not spring directly out of sixteenth-century Protestantism or Catholicism. Education

It is true that Protestant leaders of that time usually favored education. Luther and Melanchthon talked a good deal about the need of schools. Calvin made Geneva an important educational centre. In Scotland John Knox set forth the ideal of "an elementary school for every parish, a grammar school for every market town, and a university for every city." It is likewise true that contemporary Catholic leaders favored education. Reforming popes and the council of Trent urged the multiplication of schools, and the Jesuits founded numerous educational institutions of considerable repute. Yet, in fact, the religious upheaval tended, on the whole, to interrupt and retard popular education. The confiscation of church property served to destroy or reduce endowments of previously existing schools, so that in Germany and England, and other Protestant countries, the majority of grammar schools either disappeared or continued a starved existence with diminished funds; and the doctrine of salvation by faith alone and the futility of "good works" dried up the source from which such endowments had flowed. The new schools which Protestant reformers or governments managed to establish were fewer than the old schools which decayed or were destroyed. The result was that during the century following the religious upheaval formal education was confined more exclusively to the upper classes than ever before, while the masses "sank into deeper and deeper ignorance."

Besides, the universities suffered woefully. They were frequently attacked by Protestant leaders as strongholds of the hated scholastic theology and philosophy, and such of them as escaped this charge tended to sacrifice depth of learning to the superficialities of humanism, and breadth of scholarship to narrowness of sectarian argument. The result was that attendance at universities decidedly lessened, and hostility to them increased. Catholic authorities forbade the faithful to study at Protestant universities and exercised a most rigorous supervision of what was taught in Catholic universities. In Protestant lands universities declined, and some Evangelical Protestants, convinced of the worthlessness of "carnal knowledge," sought to abolish them altogether; the Congregationalists, when they were in power in England in the middle of the seventeenth century, proposed to suppress the universities of Oxford

and Cambridge. Much later, of course, occurred throughout Europe an almost revolutionary revival and extension of education, both university and popular, but it was to be an accompaniment of modern democracy rather than of modern religion.<sup>1</sup>

In the meantime, the religious upheaval of the sixteenth century had profound effects on politics and society, though only remotely in a democratic direction. As a matter of fact, the upheaval was caused in large part, as we have been at pains to point out, by political and social developments which had reached virtually revolutionary proportions at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and it was in speeding up these developments, in completing a revolution already well under way, that the upheaval produced its major political and social effects.

First, a rising consciousness of nationality contributed to the religious upheaval, and the upheaval, in turn, promoted nationalism. The Christian religion was now largely nationalized. Protestantism everywhere involved a protest against the "foreign" and the "cosmopolitan"; it appealed to national feeling; and it adopted distinctively national forms and organizations. Lutheranism became a national Christianity for many Germans and for each of the Scandinavian peoples; Calvinism, for the Dutch and the Scots; Anglicanism, for the English. At the same time, Catholicism underwent a partially nationalizing evolution; greater emphasis was put upon the national character of the church in France, Spain, Portugal, Poland, Ireland, and elsewhere; greater concessions were made to national sovereigns in matter of patronage, taxation, and judiciary; every pope since 1523 has been of Italian nationality. The result of all this has been that continuously since the sixteenth century all the major divisions of Christianity—Protestantism and Orthodoxy preëminently, and Catholicism in a somewhat lesser degree—have tended to reinforce the linguistic differences and the national rivalries which have pushed the idea of Christendom into the background and rendered divisive nationalism a distinguishing mark of modern civilization.

Secondly, the spirit of capitalism—the yearning for quick and big financial profits—was steadily growing in the sixteenth

Effects on  
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<sup>1</sup> See below, ch. xi, sec. 4.

## HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE

century. It helped to produce the religious upheaval, and the upheaval greatly accelerated its growth. Princes and landlords, eager to acquire new sources of wealth, were happy to learn from Luther, Henry VIII, and other reformers that extensive landed estates of the Catholic Church might and should be confiscated. Bankers, manufacturers, and traders, intent upon the profitable conduct of their business, heard with joy the considered judgment of Calvin that the charging of interest (*usury*) had been unjustly condemned by the Catholic Church, that its prohibition in the Old Testament was not to be interpreted literally, and that its morality was exclusively a matter of individual conscience.<sup>1</sup>

As the new capitalism was already most highly developed in Germany, the Netherlands, France, and England, it is not surprising that Calvinism found interested supporters among the middle classes of these countries. Nor is it surprising that wherever Lutheranism or Anglicanism was adopted, the nobility increased its wealth and strengthened its social position. In northern Germany, Scandinavia, and England, titled lords shared with their sovereigns in the confiscation of church lands and endowments, and thereby assured the economic and social supremacy of landed aristocracy in those countries for three centuries thereafter.

The rise of Protestantism not only afforded new opportunities for the enrichment of upper and middle classes, but most kinds of it, especially Calvinism and the radical evangelical sects, positively encouraged what has been termed "economic virtue," or what may as fittingly be called the "capitalistic spirit." Puritan Protestants were now taught from the Book of Proverbs and other parts of the Old Testament a gospel of financial effort and thrift which was in marked contrast with the traditional Christian eulogy of resignation and liberality and which in some instances may have verged on what medieval theologians denounced as the sin of covetousness. At any rate, they came to regard idleness as a mortal sin, and to look upon poverty as a badge of God's displeasure and prosperity as a

<sup>1</sup> In England, prior to Calvin's judgment, a law was enacted under Edward VI forbidding usury "as a vice most odious and detestable" and "by the word of God prohibited." Afterwards, in 1571, under Elizabeth, this law was repealed as having operated to "the utter undoing of many gentlemen, merchants, occupiers, and others," and usury up to ten per cent was pronounced not sinful but *legai*.

sign of God's blessing. This was the Calvinist and Puritan ethic of capitalism, and it wrought something of a social revolution in the northern Netherlands, in Scotland, and among many zealous Protestants in England. It provided a religious sanction for the advance of economic individualism.

Then, thirdly, the absolutist ambitions of princes and national monarchs, already much in evidence at the opening of the sixteenth century, were forwarded by the religious upheaval during the century. By confiscation of church lands, by appropriation of powers hitherto exercised by the pope, and by establishment of effective control over the local clergy, the Tudor sovereigns in England, the kings in Scandinavia, and the German princes were enriched in purse, exalted in public opinion, and simultaneously freed from the fear of being hampered in their absolutist policies by an independent ecclesiastical organization. In Catholic countries, also, as we have seen, the monarchs took advantage of the pope's difficulties to wring from him such concessions as resulted in shackling the church to the crown. As the divine right of the popes was denied or flouted, the divine right of kings was asserted and insisted upon. For two centuries after the sixteenth the absolutism of kings and princes was a very real fact in the political history of most countries of Europe.

It has been held by some writers that modern political democracy is a result of the rise of Protestantism in the sixteenth century. This is true only partially and indirectly. Protestantism did emphasize, at least in theory, the individualism which is a basic element in modern democratic doctrine; and some of the Radical Protestants, notably the Congregationalists, adopted from the outset thoroughly democratic methods of church government. But these Radical Protestants were disliked and denounced almost as bitterly by the majority of sixteenth-century Protestants as by contemporary Catholics, and the original major forms of Protestantism—Lutheran, Anglican, and even Calvinist—were aristocratic, rather than democratic, in actual operation and influence. True it is that religious minorities were inclined to resist the authority of a monarch or a class that sought to impose another faith upon them; and inasmuch as Calvinists constituted just such minorities in the Spanish Netherlands, in France, in

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Hungary, and in England they got the reputation, from their political agitations and revolts, of standing for the principle of democracy against that of autocracy. They did take a stand against autocracy, but whenever they succeeded in overthrowing a monarch, as in the Netherlands and Scotland (and later in England), they substituted for his régime a class government which would not nowadays be deemed democratic.

It should also be borne in mind that during the middle ages, under Catholic influence and auspices, many city states had governed themselves quite democratically, while national states had evolved institutions of representative government, and that some of the very monastic orders which Protestants suppressed in the sixteenth century were still managing their own affairs as democratically as were contemporary Congregationalists. Besides, the opposition to monarchical absolutism was no monopoly of Calvinists. It was voiced by several eminent Catholics of the time, including two Spanish Jesuits: Mariana (1536–1624), who contended that it was lawful to overthrow a tyrant; and Suarez (1548–1617), who argued against the divine right of kings on the ground that God has made all men equal and has entrusted them jointly with supreme political power.

In time, as we know, there would be a widespread reaction throughout Europe against the absolutism of kings and princes; and Protestants, especially those of Calvinist and Radical antecedents, would play an important rôle in precipitating it in Scotland, England, and America. But in Europe the first large-scale experimentation with what we now think of as political democracy would be made in France, and not by Protestants. Indeed, the rise of modern democracy was to occur too late to be attributable directly to the religious upheaval of the sixteenth century, and when it should occur it would be less a reflection of Protestantism, or of Catholicism, than a political reflex of new economic conditions and novel intellectual interests.

In the meantime, the lot of peasants—who constituted the vast majority of people in all European countries—was not a happy one, and there is reason to believe that the **The Lot of the Peasantry** religious upheaval of the sixteenth century had direct and unfortunate effect upon it. What the peasants gained from the diminution of ecclesiastical dues and taxes was more than offset by the increased exactions of monarchs and

landlords. Many peasants were deprived of customary rights on their ancestral manors; the suppression of monasteries cut off the main source of charity for them; and an epidemic of state laws, enacted in the interests of the new capitalism, required them to work for regulated pittance wages, and sentenced them, if they turned "sturdy beggars," to virtual slavery. Moreover, the reduction in the number of religious holidays and the abolition of pilgrimages, while welcomed by employers, meant for employees a lengthening of the time for hard labor and a lessening of the opportunity for the recreation and quaint diversions which formerly had solaced such labor. Peasant insurrections occurred, as we have noticed, in the sixteenth century; but they were uniformly put down with great cruelty. It was apparent by the seventeenth century that, at least in Protestant countries, the peasants had exchanged oppressors and found themselves in a worse condition than before.

One very important caution must be observed in ascribing all the "effects" which have been outlined in this chapter to the purely religious upheaval of the sixteenth century. Religious upheaval was only one—and possibly a minor—phenomenon of the century. It was preceded and accompanied by revolutionary exploration of oceans, discovery of distant lands, expansion of commerce, rise of capitalism, development of national consciousness and national monarchy, revival of classical learning and paganism, advance of natural science. All these phenomena, though we have considered them separately in this book, were inextricably interwoven with the ecclesiastical revolution of the sixteenth century, and we are well aware—and would have everyone else well aware—that what, for purposes of convenience, we have described as effects of the religious upheaval, might be described as effects of the whole synthesis of sixteenth-century thought and action.

Finally, there remains to be noted one effect of the religious upheaval of the sixteenth century which, in political and social significance to our modern age, outweighs all the others. It is the impetus which the upheaval gave to "secularization," that is, to the process of transferring to lay states the direction and control of numerous activities which had previously been under the almost exclusive jurisdiction of the church. Specifically, "secularization" began to

The Complex of Sixteenth-Century Developments

Impetus to "Secularization"

be applied in the sixteenth century, particularly in Protestant countries, not only to church lands and taxes but also in the domains of charity and education. In England, for example, when the state had confiscated the wealth of the Catholic Church and had suppressed all monastic establishments, it was found that many charitable and educational institutions and the care of the poor, the infirm, and the aged could no longer be carried on in the traditional way, financed by the church, and attended to by monks. Consequently, the English state undertook to provide substitutes, and during the reign of Queen Elizabeth a series of parliamentary statutes made the state, rather than the church, the supreme arbiter of charity and education in England. It was enacted that, in place of bishops, church-wardens, and monks, lay justices of the peace and special "overseers of the poor" should dispense charity, raising funds by assessment of all householders, giving doles to the infirm, and putting the able bodied poor to productive labor in local "work-houses."<sup>1</sup> By like enactment, more than a hundred schools were established and endowed under state auspices, to take the place of church schools which had been impoverished or closed. In the Lutheran states of Germany and Scandinavia, and in Calvinist Netherlands and Scotland, similar steps were taken in respect of charity and education. The first Protestant school to be set up by lay, rather than ecclesiastical, authorities was founded by the city fathers of Magdeburg in 1524; in 1528 the Lutheran elector of Saxony took over the general direction of all schools within his territories, and in 1559 the Lutheran duke of Württemberg did likewise.

In Catholic countries there was less secularization. The church here retained for at least two centuries longer the management of schools and charitable institutions. Even in Protestant countries secularization did not immediately imply a lessening of emphasis upon religion as a subject of instruction in schools or as a professed principle in the guidance of charitable institutions. Protestant states uniformly insisted, for at least two hundred years after the religious upheaval of the sixteenth century, that all teachers should be "pious and godly" communicants of their respective national churches and that the teaching of Bible and Protestant catechism was a basic function of all education.

<sup>1</sup> The English "Poor Law" was enacted in 1601, but many of its provisions were foreshadowed in statutes of 1563, 1572, 1576, and 1597.

Yet secularization had begun and was to continue on a scale ever more intensive and extensive. The state was increasingly to determine social and economic and educational policies, at first in Protestant lands and eventually in Catholic lands. The great wide realms of human activity lying between purely personal religion on the one hand and politics, sociology, economics, and science on the other, realms which, though often disputed by church and state, had usually been ruled ultimately by the former--were now, in modern times, to be gradually lost to the church and appropriated by the state. For weal or for woe, the outcome has been that Christianity occupies in modern times no such superior position of social control as it held in the middle ages. The essentially secular character of modern history originated in various developments, especially in the religious upheaval, of the sixteenth century.





PART II  
DYNASTIC AND ECONOMIC  
STATECRAFT

- V. THE PREDOMINANCE OF SPAIN
- VI. THE PREDOMINANCE OF FRANCE
- VII. THE AUSTRIAN HABSBURGS AND THE RISE OF PRUSSIA
- VIII. THE RISE OF RUSSIA
- IX. THE RISE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE



## CHAPTER V

### THE PREDOMINANCE OF SPAIN

#### I. THE AGE OF CHARLES V



CERTAIN factors conspired to make Spain the leading power in Europe during the first century of modern times. First, she possessed a goodly number of particularly brave and daring soldiers, who had just ended an age-long struggle with the Moslems by capturing Granada (1492) and subjecting the whole peninsula (except Portugal) to a single Christian state. In an era when the Moslems were universally dreaded and when Moslem Turks were seizing Constantinople and southeastern Europe, the blotting out of Moslem sway in southwestern Europe was a sensational exploit. It drew applause from all Christendom. It confirmed the pride and self-esteem of Spaniards and established their reputation abroad as redoubtable fighters and gallant champions of the cross.

Factors  
Making  
for  
Spanish  
Predomi-  
nance

Second, Spain reaped the rich first-fruits of the discovery of America (1492), the exploitation of the West Indies, and the conquest of Mexico and Peru. Her own land at home was not especially fertile; her peasants and nobles were devoted to a mediæval system of agriculture which admitted of no great access of national wealth; and her growing religious and political intolerance of Moslems and Jews threatened to paralyze the capitalistic development of her cities by depriving them of their most experienced manufacturers and business men. But these internal economic weaknesses of Spain were offset or obscured for at least a century by the vast influx of precious metals and priceless cargoes from overseas. Spanish ports soon excelled Venice and Genoa in business and bustle; and although the new wealth did not accrue permanently to Spain, temporarily it enabled the Spanish grandees and court to play a military and political rôle in Europe of extraordinary brilliance and variety.

Third, the ruling family of Spain vied with ruling families of other (and somewhat older) national states in the pursuit of the Machiavellian statecraft of the age—the employment of every means, military, financial, diplomatic, and marital, to enhance the size and prestige of the state and to exercise monarchical absolutism within it. And the Spanish royal family was astoundingly successful and easily first in its marital statecraft. By matrimony Spain became the political arbiter of Europe in the sixteenth century.

The royal family of Spain was descended from a Visigothic chieftain of the early middle ages, and various of its branches, **The Spanish Dynasty** much intermarried, reigned in the fifteenth century over the independent peninsular kingdoms of Castile, Aragon, and Portugal. In the latter part of this century, as we have seen,<sup>1</sup> the marriage of Isabella of Castile with her kinsman Ferdinand of Aragon created the united monarchy of Spain.

Ferdinand and Isabella, the conquerors of Granada and the sponsors of the discovery of America, raised no son, but they had three daughters for whom they arranged marriages calculated to extend Spanish influence far and wide. One was married to Emmanuel I, king of Portugal (1495-1521); thereby, it was hoped, the remaining independent state in the peninsula might some day be united with Spain and the resources of the Far East be joined with the riches of the Far West. Another daughter—Catherine—was married to Henry VIII, king of England (1509-1547); England, though relatively backward and weak, was of some commercial importance, and Henry VIII was a dashing and ambitious fellow whose assistance in an emergency might be useful.

The eldest daughter, Joanna, the direct heiress of Castile and Aragon, was a bit odd and is known in history as Joanna the Mad. But she was not too insane to be married to a strikingly handsome and wealthily endowed young prince, Philip of Habsburg, and to give birth to a numerous and famous progeny. Her husband, Philip, was certainly no mean catch for his parents-in-law, the Spanish sovereigns. His own father was Maximilian I (1493-1519), archduke of Austria and Holy Roman Emperor, and his mother was Mary

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 32-33.

of Burgundy, heiress of the populous and industrious Netherlands.

Philip succeeded his mother as nominal sovereign of the Netherlands in 1482—he was only four years of age at the time—and to the Netherlands he later brought his bride, Joanna. There, in the city of Ghent, in the year 1500 was ushered into the world the first-born son of Philip and Joanna. He was named Charles and was destined to impress the first half of the sixteenth century with his name and his fame.

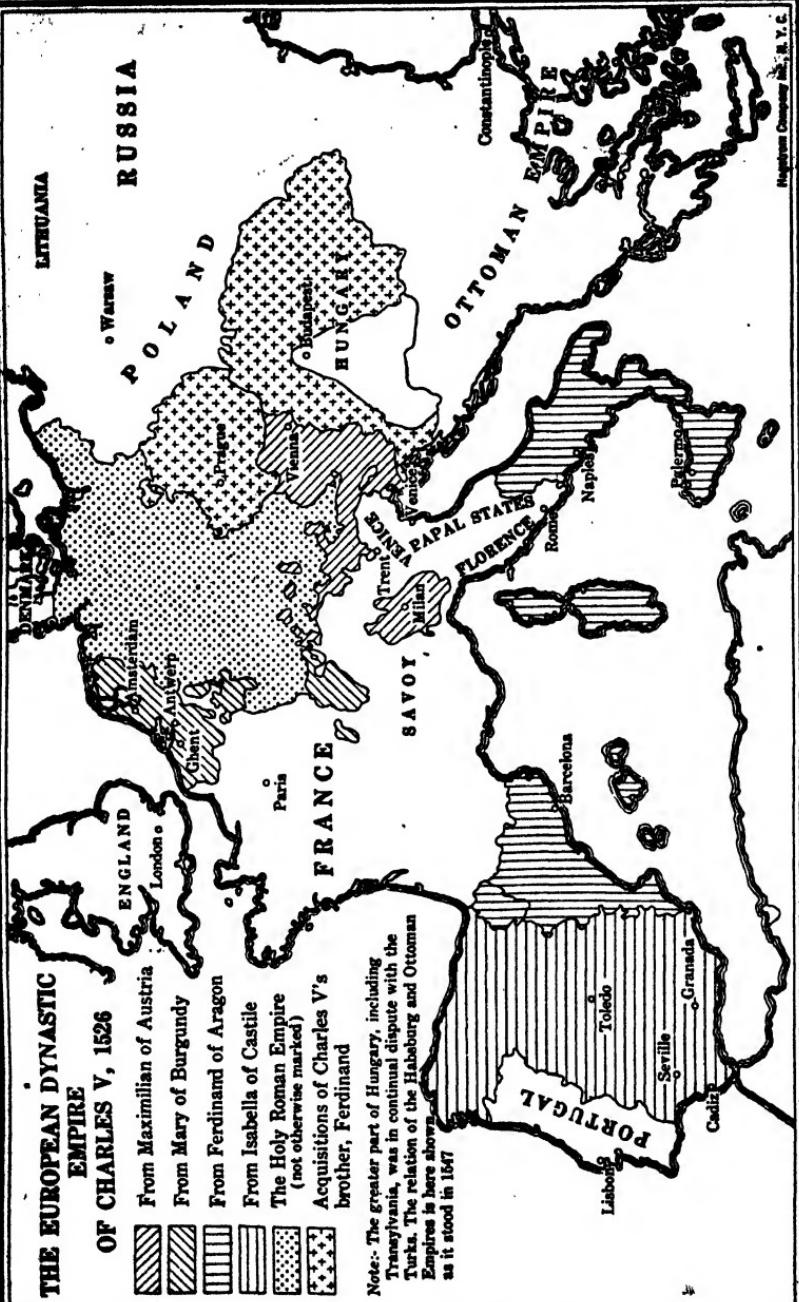
In 1504, on the death of Isabella of Castile, Joanna became titular co-sovereign of Spain with her father Ferdinand, but she was now so far gone with insanity that her husband reigned in her stead as Philip I of Castile and the Netherlands. But Philip was short-lived, and on his death in 1506 the crowns of the Netherlands and Castile passed to his six-year-old son, Charles. On this boy crowns seemed to rain. When he was sixteen the death of Grandfather Ferdinand showered upon him the whole Spanish inheritance. When he was nineteen the death of Grandfather Maximilian poured upon him all the hereditary dominions of the Habsburgs. Thus under the youthful Charles I of Spain were fortuitously grouped in 1519 wider lands and greater populations than any Christian king had ever ruled. Seville, Madrid, Barcelona, Antwerp, Amsterdam, Brussels, Vienna, Naples—even Mexico City—owed him allegiance. His titles alone would fill several pages.

Charles of  
Habsburg;  
Charles I  
of Spain,  
and  
Charles V  
of the  
Empire

One more title Charles coveted—the highly ornamental title of Holy Roman Emperor which his grandfather Maximilian had borne. But this title was also coveted by the French king, Francis I (1515–1547), who feared lest the election of the master of Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands to the imperial dignity in Germany would upset the “balance of power,” endanger the independence of France, and thwart his own ambitions. Both Charles and Francis (and Henry VIII of England, who entered the contest also) resorted to prodigal bribery of the electors, but Charles’s additional appeal to the fact that he was a Habsburg and was in a peculiarly strategic position to protect Germany against the Moslem Turks at length carried the day and won him the election as Holy Roman Emperor. He was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1520, and became the Emperor Charles V.

THE EUROPEAN DYNASTIC  
EMPIRE  
OF CHARLES V, 1526

**Note:** The greater part of Hungary, including Transylvania, was in continual dispute with the Turks. The relation of the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires is here shown as it stood in 1647.



Never have greater difficulties confronted a sovereign than those which Charles V was obliged to face throughout his reign; never did monarch lead a more strenuous life. He was the central figure in a very critical period of history. His own character, as well as the painstaking education he had received in the Netherlands, conferred upon him a lively appreciation of his position and a dogged pertinacity in discharging its obligations. Both in administering his extensive dominions and in dealing with foreign foes, Charles was a zealous, hard-working, and calculating prince, and the lack of success which attended many of his projects was due not to want of ability in the ruler but to the multiplicity of conflicting interests among the ruled.

At the outset, we must remember the peculiar nature of the dominions of Charles V. They were a "dynastic empire." That is, they did not constitute a single centralized state, like the earlier Roman Empire or the later Russian Empire, but a congeries of states and sovereignties which had been grouped together by fortunes of marriage under a particular family—in this case, the Habsburg family—and which were united only in the sense that they all had a common personal sovereign. Charles had no "imperial" government and no common administration for all his dominions. There was the form of an "imperial" government for his German lands—the form of the "Holy Roman Empire,"—but there was not even such a form for his Netherlandish, Spanish, and Italian territories. Each of these retained its peculiar institutions, with the result that Charles V was a "pluralist" rather than a unitary ruler. He had to function in as many different capacities and in accordance with as many different customs as there were distinct sovereignties in his heterogeneous dynastic empire. He had to carry on in many different languages, with many diverse advisers, and for many disparate peoples.

The dynastic empire of Charles V was especially difficult to manage. For every one of his major dominions lacked political unity and administrative uniformity, and each fraction had to be dealt with separately and differently. Each one of the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands—the wealthiest part of his domain, and the part which he always considered peculiarly his own—was a distinct political unit, for there existed among the seventeen provinces only the rudiments of a central

ministration and a common representative system, while the affiliated county of Burgundy (*Franche Comté*) had a separate political organization.

The crown of Castile brought with it the recently conquered kingdom of Granada, together with the new colonies in America and scattered posts in northern Africa. The crown of Aragon comprised the four distinct states of Aragon, Valencia, Catalonia, and Navarre,<sup>1</sup> and, in addition, the kingdoms of Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia, each with its own local government and customs. At least eight separate cortes or parliaments existed in this Spanish-Italian group, adding greatly to the intricacy of administration.

Much the same was true of the hereditary Habsburg group of states,—Austria, Styria, Carniola, Carinthia, the Tyrol, etc.,—but Charles soon freed himself from immediate responsibility for their government by entrusting them (1521) to his younger brother, Ferdinand, who by his own marriage and elections added the kingdoms of Bohemia<sup>2</sup> and Hungary (1526) to the Habsburg dominions. The Holy Roman Empire afforded additional problems: it made serious demands upon the time, money, and energies of its ruler; in return, it gave little but glamor.

In all the diverse regions of his “dynastic empire” Charles had to do with financial, judicial, and ecclesiastical matters. He had to reconcile conflicting interests and appeal for popularity to many varied peoples. More than once during his reign he even had to repress rebellion. In Germany, from the very first, he was face to face with rising Protestantism which seemed to him to blaspheme his altar and to assail his throne.

The empéror's overwhelming administrative difficulties were complicated at every turn by the intricacies of foreign politics. In the first place, Charles was obliged to wage war with France throughout the greater part of his reign; he had inherited a long-standing quarrel with the French kings, to which the rivalry of Francis I for the Holy Roman Empire gave a personal aspect. In the second place, and almost as formidable, was the advance of the Turks up the Danube and the increase of Moslem naval power in the Mediterranean. Against Protestant Germany a Catholic monarch might hope to rely on papal assistance, and

<sup>1</sup> The part south of the Pyrenees.

<sup>2</sup> Including the Bohemian crown lands of Moravia and Silesia. See above, p. 35.

English support might conceivably be enlisted against France. But the popes, who usually disliked the emperor's Italian policy, were not of great aid to him elsewhere; and the English sovereigns had domestic reasons for developing hostility to Charles. A brief sketch of the foreign affairs of Charles may make the situation clear.

Six years older than Charles, Francis I had succeeded to the French throne in 1515, irresponsible, frivolous, and vain of military reputation. The general political situation of the time,—the gradual enclosure of the French monarchy by a string of Habsburg territories,—to say nothing of the remarkable contrast between the character of Francis and that of the persevering Charles, invited a great armed conflict, and definite pretexts were not lacking for an early outbreak of hostilities. (1) Francis revived the claims of the French crown to Naples, although Louis XII had renounced them in 1504. (2) Francis, bent on regaining Milan, which his predecessor had lost in 1512, invaded the duchy and, after winning the brilliant victory of Marignano in the first year of his reign, occupied the city of Milan. Charles subsequently insisted, however, that the duchy was a fief of the Holy Roman Empire and that he was sworn by oath to recover it. (3) Francis asserted the claims of a kinsman to the little kingdom of Navarre, the greater part of which, it will be remembered, had recently<sup>1</sup> been forcibly annexed to Spain. (4) Francis desired to extend his sway into the rich provinces of the Netherlands, while Charles was determined not only to prevent further aggressions but to recover the duchy of Burgundy of which his grandmother had been deprived by Louis XI. (5) The outcome of the contest for the crown of the Holy Roman Empire in 1519 virtually completed the breach between the two rivals. War broke out in 1522, and with a few interruptions it outlasted the lives of both Francis and Charles.

The Contest  
of  
Charles V  
with  
Francis I  
of France

Italy was the main theatre of the combat. In the first stage, the imperial forces, with the aid of a papal army, speedily drove the French garrison out of Milan. The Sforza family was duly invested with the duchy as a fief of the Holy Roman Empire, and the pope was compensated by the addition of Parma and Piacenza to the states of the church. The victorious Imperialists

<sup>1</sup> In 1512. See above, p. 33.

then pressed across the Alps and besieged Marseilles. Francis, who had been detained by domestic troubles in France,<sup>1</sup> now succeeded in raising the siege and pursued the retreating enemy to Milan. But, instead of following up his advantage by promptly attacking the main army of the Imperialists, the French king despatched a part of his force to Naples, and with the other turned aside to blockade the city of Pavia. This blunder enabled the Imperialists to reform their ranks and to march towards Pavia in order to join the besieged. Here in February, 1525,—on the emperor's twenty-fifth birthday,—the army of Charles won an overwhelming victory. Eight thousand French soldiers fell on the field that day, and Francis, who had been in the thick of the fight, was compelled to surrender. "Nothing in the world is left me save my honor and my life," wrote the king to his mother. Everything seemed auspicious for the cause of Charles. Francis, after a brief captivity in Spain, was released on condition that he would surrender all claims to Burgundy, the Netherlands, and Italy, and would marry the emperor's sister.

Francis swore upon the Gospels and upon his knightly word that he would fulfill these conditions, but in his own and contemporary opinion the compulsion exercised upon him absolved him from his oath. No sooner was he back in France than he declared the treaty null and void and proceeded to form alliances with all the Italian powers that had become alarmed by the sudden strengthening of the emperor's position in the peninsula,—the pope, Venice, Florence, and even the Sforza who owed everything to Charles. Upon the resumption of hostilities the league displayed the same want of agreement and energy which characterized every coalition of Italian city states; and soon the Imperialists were able to repossess themselves of much of the country.

In 1527 occurred a famous episode, the sack of Rome. It was not displeasing to the emperor that the pope should be punished for giving aid to France, although Charles cannot be held altogether responsible for what befell. His army in Italy, composed largely of Spaniards and Germans, being short of food and money, and without orders, mutinied

<sup>1</sup> These troubles related to the disposition of the important landed estates of the Bourbon family. The duke of Bourbon, who was constable of France, felt himself injured by the king and accordingly deserted to the emperor.

and marched upon the Eternal City, which was soon at their mercy. About four thousand people perished in the capture. The pillage lasted nine months, and the brigands were halted only by a frightful pestilence which decimated their numbers. Convents were forced, altars stripped, tombs profaned, the library of the Vatican sacked, and works of art torn down as monuments of idolatry. Pope Clement VII (1523-1534), a cousin of the other Medici pope, Leo X, had taken refuge in the impregnable castle of St. Angelo and was now obliged to make peace with the emperor.

The sack of Rome aroused bitter feelings throughout Catholic Europe, and Henry VIII of England, at that time still loyal to the pope, ostentatiously sent aid to Francis. But although the emperor made little headway against Francis, the French king, on account of strategic blunders and the disunion of the league, was unable to maintain a sure foothold in Italy. The peace of Cambrai (1529) provided that Francis should abandon Naples, Milan, and the Netherlands, but the cession of Burgundy was no longer insisted upon. Francis proceeded to celebrate his marriage with the emperor's sister.

Eight years of warfare had left Charles V and the Habsburg family unquestionable masters of Italy. Naples was under Charles's direct government. For Milan he received the homage of Sforza. The Medici pope, whose family Charles had restored in Florence, was now his ally. Charles visited Italy for the first time in 1529 to view his territories, and at Bologna (1530) received from the pope's hands the ancient iron crown of Lombard Italy and the imperial crown of Rome. It was the last papal coronation of a ruler of the Holy Roman Empire.

The peace of Cambrai proved but a truce, and war between Charles and Francis repeatedly blazed forth. In order to create all possible trouble for the emperor, Francis made alliances with Scotland, Sweden, Denmark, the Ottoman Turks, even the rebellious Protestant princes within the Holy Roman Empire. There were spasmodic campaigns between 1536 and 1538 and between 1542 and 1544, and after the death of Francis and the abdication of Charles, the former's son, Henry II (1547-1559), continued the conflict, newly begun in 1552, until the conclusion of the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559. By this treaty the Habsburgs re-

Peace of  
Cambrai

Continuing  
Conflict with  
France

tained their hold upon Italy, while France, by the occupation of the important bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, extended her northeastern frontier, at the expense of the empire, toward the Rhine River.

Indirectly, the long wars occasioned by the personal rivalry of Charles and Francis had other results than Habsburg predominance in Italy and French expansion towards the Rhine. They preserved a "balance of power" and prevented the incorporation of the French monarchy into the dynastic empire of the Habsburgs. At the same time, they facilitated the rise of the Ottoman power in eastern Europe; and French alliance with the Turks gave French trade and enterprise a decided lead in the Levant. They also permitted the comparatively free growth of Protestantism in Germany.

More perilous to Charles V than his wars with the French was the advance of the Moslem Turks. Under their greatest

**Conflict with the Moslem Turks** sultan, Suleiman II the Magnificent (1520-1566), a contemporary of Charles, the Turks were rapidly extending their sway.<sup>1</sup> The Black Sea was practically a Turkish lake; and the whole Euphrates valley, with Bagdad, had fallen into the sultan's power, now established on the Persian Gulf and in control of all of the ancient trade routes to the East. The northern coasts of Africa from Egypt to Algeria acknowledged the supremacy of Suleiman, whose sea power in the Mediterranean had become a factor to be reckoned with in European politics, threatening not only the islands but the Christian countries of Italy and Spain. The Venetians were driven from Greece and the Ægean islands; only Cyprus, Crete, and Malta survived in the Mediterranean as outposts of Christendom.

Suleiman devoted many years to the extension of his power in Europe, sometimes in alliance with the French king, sometimes upon his own initiative,—and with almost unbroken success. In 1521 he declared war against the king of Hungary on the pretext that the latter had not congratulated him on his accession to the Ottoman throne. He besieged and captured Belgrade, and in 1526 on the field of Mohács his forces met and overwhelmed the Hungarians, whose king was killed with the flower of the Hungarian chivalry. The battle of Mohács marked

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 14.

the extinction of an independent and united Hungarian state. Ferdinand of Habsburg, brother of Charles V, claimed the kingdom; Suleiman was in actual possession of fully a third of it. The sultan's army carried the war into Austria and in 1529 invested and bombarded Vienna, but so valiant was the resistance offered that after three weeks the siege was abandoned. Twelve years later the greater part of Hungary, including the city of Budapest, became a Turkish province, and in many places churches were turned into mosques. In 1547 Charles V and Ferdinand were compelled to recognize the Turkish conquests in Hungary, and the latter agreed to pay the sultan an annual tribute of 30,000 ducats. Suleiman not only thwarted every attempt of his rivals to recover the Hungarian territories, but remained throughout his life a constant menace to the security of the hereditary Austrian dominions of the Habsburgs.

At the very time when Charles V was trying to keep his eye on all his diverse hereditary possessions in Spain, Italy, the Netherlands, and America, and was waging almost incessant war now with the French and now with the Moslems, he had to cope with a most difficult situation within the Holy Roman Empire. Had he been able to devote all his talent and energy to the domestic affairs of the Empire, he might have transformed it into a compact German state. It should be borne in mind that when Charles V became emperor in 1520 the Holy Roman Empire was virtually restricted to German-speaking peoples,<sup>1</sup> and that the national unifications of England, France, and Spain, already far advanced, pointed the path to a similar political evolution for Germany. Why should not a modern German national state have been created coextensive with the medieval empire, a state which would have included not only the twentieth-century German republic, but Austria and the Netherlands, and which, stretching from the Baltic to the Adriatic and from the English Channel to the Vistula, would have been the chief power on the continent of Europe throughout the whole modern era? There were certainly grave difficulties in the way, but grave difficulties had also been encountered in consolidating France or Spain, and the difference was rather of degree than of kind. In every other case a strong monarch

Problems  
of  
Charles V  
in the  
Holy  
Roman  
Empire

<sup>1</sup> Except for the Czechs in Bohemia.

had overcome feudal princes and ambitious nobles, had deprived cities of many of their liberties, had trampled upon or tampered with the privileges of representative assemblies, and had enforced internal order and security. In every such case the monarch had commanded the support of important popular elements and had directed his major efforts to the realization of national aims.

National patriotism was not altogether lacking among Germans of the sixteenth century. They were conscious of a common language which was already becoming a vehicle of literary expression. They were conscious of a common tradition and of a common nationality. They recognized, in many cases, the absurdly antiquated character of their political institutions and ardently longed for reforms. In fact, the trouble with the Germans was not so much the lack of thought about political reform as the actual conflicts between various groups concerning the method and goal of reform. Germans despised the Holy Roman Empire, much as Frenchmen abhorred the memory of feudal society; but there were fewer Germans than Frenchmen who advocated the establishment of strong national monarchy. In Germany were princes, free cities, and knights,—all nationalistic after a fashion, but all quarrelling with one another and with their nominal sovereign.

The emperors themselves were the only sincere and consistent champions of centralized monarchical power, but the emperors were probably less patriotic than anyone else in the Holy Roman Empire. Charles V would never abandon his pretensions to dynastic world power in order to become a strong monarch over a single nation. Early in his reign he declared that "no monarchy was comparable with the Roman Empire. This the whole world had once obeyed, and Christ Himself had paid it honor and obedience. Unfortunately it was only a shadow of what it had been, but he hoped, with the help of those powerful countries and alliances which God had granted him, to raise it to its ancient glory." Charles V labored for an increase of personal power not only in Germany but also in the Netherlands, in Spain, and in Italy; and with the vast imperial ambition of Charles the ideal of creating a national monarchy on a strictly German basis was in sharp conflict. Charles V could not, certainly would not, pose simply as a German king, a merely national leader.

In these circumstances the powerful German princes, in defying the emperor's authority and in promoting disruptive tendencies in the Holy Roman Empire, were enabled to lay the blame at the feet of their unpatriotic sovereign and thereby to arouse in their behalf a good deal of German national sentiment. In choosing Charles V to be their emperor, the princely electors in 1519 had demanded that German or Latin should be the official language of the Holy Roman Empire, that imperial offices should be open only to Germans, that the various princes should not be subject to any foreign political jurisdiction, that no foreign troops should serve in imperial wars without the approval of the diet, and that Charles should confirm the sovereign rights of all the princes and appoint from their number a Council of Regency (*Reichsregiment*) to share in his government.

In accordance with an agreement reached by the diet held at Worms in 1521, the Council of Regency was created. Most of its twenty-three members were named by, and represented the interests of, the German princes. Here might be the starting-point toward a closer political union of the German-speaking people, if only a certain amount of financial independence could be secured to the Council. The proposal on this score was a most promising one; it was to finance the new imperial administration, not, as formerly, by levying more or less voluntary contributions on the various states, but by establishing a kind of customs-union (*Zollverein*) and imposing on foreign importations a tariff for revenue. This time, however, the German burghers raised angry protests; the merchants and traders of the Hanseatic towns complained that the proposed financial burden would fall on them and destroy their business; and their protests were potent enough to bring to nought the princes' plan. Thus the government was forced again to resort to the levy of special financial contributions,—an expedient which usually put the emperor and the Council of Regency at the mercy of the most selfish and least patriotic of the German princes.

More truly patriotic as a class than German princes or German burghers were the German knights—those gentlemen of the hill-top and of the road, who, usually poor in pocket though stout of heart, looked down from their high-perched castles with thinly disguised contempt upon the vulgar tradesmen of the town or beheld with anger and jealousy the encroachments of neighbor-

ing princes, lay and ecclesiastical, more wealthy and powerful than themselves. Especially against the princes the knights contended, sometimes under the form of law, more often by force and violence and all the barbarous accompaniments of private warfare and personal feud. Some of the knights were well educated and some had literary and scholarly abilities; hardly any one of them was a friend of public order. Yet the knights as a class were intensely proud of their German nationality. It was the knights, who, under the leadership of such fiery patriots as Ulrich von Hutten and Franz von Sickingen, had forcefully contributed in 1519 to the imperial election of Charles V, a German Habsburg, in preference to non-German candidates such as Francis I of France or Henry VIII of England. For a brief period Charles V leaned heavily upon the German knights for support in his struggle with princes and burghers; and at one time it looked as if the knights in union with the emperor would succeed in curbing the power of the princes and in laying the foundations of a strongly centralized national German monarchy.

But at the critical moment Protestantism arose in Germany, marking a cleavage between the knightly leaders and the emperor. To knights like Ulrich von Hutten and Franz von Sickingen the final break in 1520 between Martin Luther and the pope seemed to assure a separation of Germany from Italy and the erection of a peculiar form of German Christianity about which a truly national state could be builded. As a class the knights applauded Luther and rejoiced at the rapid spread of his teachings throughout Germany. On the other hand, Charles V remained a Catholic. Not only was he loyally attached to the religion of his fathers through personal training and belief, but he felt that the maintenance of what political authority he possessed was dependent largely on the maintenance of the universal authority of the old church, and he needed papal assistance for his many foreign projects. The same reasons that led many German princes to accept the Lutheran doctrines as a means of lessening imperial control caused Charles V to reject them. At the same diet at Worms (1521), at which the Council of Regency had been created, Charles V prevailed upon the Germans present to condemn and outlaw Luther; and this action alienated the knights from the emperor.

Franz von Sickingen, a Rhenish knight and the ablest of his class, speedily took advantage of the emperor's absence from Germany in 1522 to precipitate a knights' war. In supreme command of an army of fellow knights, Franz made an energetic attack upon the rich landed estates of the Catholic prince-bishop of Trier. At this point, the German princes, lay as well as ecclesiastical, forgetting their religious predilections and mindful only of their common hatred of the knights, rushed to the defense of the bishop of Trier and drove off Sickingen, who, in May, 1523, died fighting before his own castle of Ebernburg. Ulrich von Hutten fled to Switzerland and perished miserably shortly afterwards. The knights' cause collapsed, and princes and burghers remained triumphant.<sup>1</sup> It was the end of serious efforts in the sixteenth century to create a national German state.

The Council of Regency lasted until 1531, though its inability to preserve domestic peace discredited it, and in its later years it enjoyed little authority. Left to themselves, many of the princes espoused Protestantism. In vain Charles V combated the new religious movement. In vain he proscribed it in several diets after that of Worms. In vain he assailed its upholders in several military campaigns, such as those against the Schmalkaldic League.<sup>2</sup> But the long absences of Charles V from Germany and his absorption in a multitude of cares and worries, to say nothing of the spasmodic aid which the Catholic king of France gave to the Protestants in Germany, contributed to at least the partial triumph of Lutheranism. In the last year of Charles's rule (1555), the German princes were formally accorded the privilege of choosing whether they would be Catholic or Lutheran.<sup>3</sup>

Protestantism in Germany proved to be a disintegrating, rather than a unifying, factor of national life. It might not have been so, if it had been accepted by the emperor and all the princes, or if it had been rejected by all of them. In either of these cases, civil war would probably have been prevented, religion would have been wholly or partially nationalized, and the central states would have been strengthened. Actually, however, princes and

<sup>1</sup> The knights' war was soon followed by the peasants' revolt, a social rather than a political movement. For an account of the peasants' revolt, see above, pp. 156-158.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 158.

<sup>3</sup> By the religious peace of Augsburg. See above, p. 159.

people in Germany were about equally divided between Catholicism and Protestantism, and the princes used religion as a cloak for opposing the Catholic emperor, for reasserting localism, and for paralyzing every movement for national unity.

The Holy Roman Empire, then, was falling mortally ill during the reign of one of its greatest emperors. But, by a curious irony of history, it was during the reign of this same Emperor Charles V that England was becoming more nationalist and was beginning to play a significant part in international politics. At first, Charles had regarded as a poor relation the English king Henry VIII (1509-1547), whose wife—Catherine of Aragon—was Charles's aunt. But before long, he had to take him more seriously. Henry VIII had, for several years, a very ambitious minister in the person of Thomas Wolsey (1475-1530). A self-made man and a priest of the Catholic Church, greedy of power and wealth and capable of a vast deal of hard work, Wolsey had rapidly advanced himself in the favor of ecclesiastical and temporal superiors and had been loaded with benefices and positions of dignity and responsibility. By 1515 he had become the mentor of Henry VIII, the director of his country's domestic and foreign policies, and a cardinal of the Roman Church. He aspired eagerly to be pope.

While strengthening the royal (and his own) authority in England by repressing the nobility, corrupting parliament, and establishing the arbitrary court of Star Chamber, Cardinal Wolsey perceived in the conflict between the Emperor Charles V and the French King Francis I a golden opportunity to put England (and himself) in the forefront of Continental politics. There were Englishmen at the time who thought that their country should avoid entangling alliances and distant enterprises and should go its own way as a small, second-rate nation. But Wolsey thought differently, and with the support of the impetuous young Henry VIII he overbore them. He would have England hold the "balance of power" between Charles and Francis, taking part now with the one and now with the other. Such a policy would enhance English prestige abroad and English pride at home and would make Wolsey an arbiter of Europe.

Wolsey was more inclined to side with Charles V than with Francis I. The former was Henry VIII's nephew by marriage; he was the ruler of the Netherlands, with which the economic

interests of England required close and friendly contact; and he was in a better position to forward Wolsey's personal ambitions at Rome. Yet Wolsey for a time made a great show of friendship for the French king, particularly in connection with the spectacular meeting of Henry VIII and Francis I on the "field of the cloth of gold" in 1520, with the result that Charles V felt obliged to exert special efforts (including the payment of liberal sums of money to Wolsey) to induce Henry VIII to support the empire actively against France. Henry and Wolsey did send military expeditions to the Continent to help Charles V, but they were not very effective and on one occasion, after the sack of Rome in 1527, they were suddenly transferred from the side of the emperor to that of the French king.

The marital difficulties of Henry VIII further complicated the situation. The English monarch's determination to get rid of Queen Catherine<sup>1</sup> was bound to strain friendly relations between him and Charles V. The emperor, as champion of his aunt, zealously besought the pope to deny Henry VIII's suit for annulment of the marriage. On the other hand, Cardinal Wolsey favored the suit because he imagined that his master, if free from the Spanish alliance, could be married to a French princess and that such a rearrangement of matrimonial alliances would better assure England's position as the holder of the "balance of power." But Henry VIII had a mind of his own about women. He was moved neither by the tears of his Spanish wife nor by the diplomatic advantages of any French princess. He was resolved to wed Anne Boleyn, a merely English woman. The upshot was that Henry married Anne, Wolsey died in disgrace, Francis I was disappointed, Charles V was scandalized, the pope was flouted, and England was cut off from the Catholic Church and deprived temporarily of a leading rôle in international politics. But English nationalism was quickened.

Towards the close of the reign of Henry VIII, when Anne Boleyn had been executed for adultery and the hapless Catherine had expired and a third wife was dead, a fourth divorced, and a fifth beheaded, and when the English king was threatening with death anyone who should discuss his matrimonial tribulations and was solacing himself with a sixth (and very discreet) wife, his relations with Charles V perceptibly improved. Eventually,

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 171-173.

when Mary Tudor ascended the English throne in 1553, really close and cordial relations were restored between the sovereigns of England and Spain. Mary was the daughter of Henry VIII by his first wife, Catherine, and hence she was a cousin of Charles V. To Mary, Charles V now married his son and successor, Philip II.

At length exhausted by all his manifold labors, Charles V decided to divide his extensive dominions between his brother

**Abdication of Charles V** Ferdinand and his son Philip and to retire from government. In the Hall of the Golden Fleece at Brussels in October, 1555, he formally abdicated the sovereignty of his beloved Netherlands. Turning to the assembled representatives of the people, he said: "Gentlemen, you must not be astonished if, old and feeble as I am in all my members, and also from the love I bear you, I shed some tears." At least in the Netherlands the love was reciprocal.

In 1556 Charles V resigned to Philip the Spanish and Italian crowns and to Ferdinand the Austrian domain and imperial authority,<sup>1</sup> and withdrew into a monastery in Spain to prepare himself for another world. He died in 1558.

Personally, Charles V had a prominent lower jaw and a thin pale face, relieved by a wide forehead and bright flashing eyes.

**Charles V, the Man** In character he was slow and at times both irresolute and obstinate, but he had a high sense of duty, honest

intentions, good soldierly qualities, and a large amount of cold common sense. In culture he was at once a product and a specimen of the intellectual and economic tendencies of his age. He was a Catholic Christian, conscientious in the practice of his religion and anxious to promote conservative reform within the church. He was also a humanist, well read in the classics and a discriminating patron of renaissance art, especially painting and music. He had some appreciation of scientific developments, though, like most of his contemporaries, he was a devotee of astrology. It was Charles V, moreover, who by his economic policies enriched the great banking family of the Fuggers and contributed materially to the rise of capitalism in Germany and the Netherlands. He it was, too, who directed the overseas expansion

<sup>1</sup> Charles V retained the title of emperor until his death.

of Spain and authorized the first code of laws for European settlers in the New World.

## 2. THE AGE OF PHILIP II

Philip II was the only son of Charles V. Born in 1527, he reached maturity in the second half of the sixteenth century. And this part of the century may justly be characterized as the Age of Philip II, just as the first half of the century may be said to constitute the Age of Charles V.

Philip II did not inherit the entire territorial domain of his father. His uncle Ferdinand, who by marriage had already become king of Bohemia and of that part of Hungary not occupied by the Turks, obtained the archduchy of Austria with its traditional dependencies; and Ferdinand was chosen to succeed Charles V as Holy Roman Emperor. Philip, however, received the remainder of the family inheritance, and an impressive remainder it was. It embraced Spain, the Netherlands, Franche Comté (the "county," or eastern part, of the old duchy of Burgundy), Milan, Naples, Sicily, and the Spanish colonies in the West Indies, America, and the Philippines. Moreover, Philip was ever tightening the family tie between himself in Spain and his uncle and cousins in Austria. Ferdinand's son and successor married Philip's sister; Philip's son and successor married Ferdinand's granddaughter.

The In-  
heritance  
of  
Philip II

Few characters in history have elicited more widely contradictory estimates than Philip II. Represented by many English writers as a villain, despot, and bigot, he has been extolled by patriotic Spaniards as Philip the Great, champion of civilization. These conflicting opinions are derived from different views which may be taken of the value and inherent worth of Philip's policies and methods, but of what those policies and methods were there can be no doubt.

The Char-  
acter of  
Philip II

In the first place, Philip II, in marked contrast with Charles V,

prized Spain as his native country and his main possession. He had been born in Spain and he resided there during almost all of his life. He was patriotically devoted to the task of making Spain the greatest country in the world.

In the second place, Philip II was sincerely and piously attached to Catholicism. He abhorred Protestantism as a blasphemous rending of the seamless garment of the church and as a grave menace to Christian civilization. He set his heart upon the universal triumph of his faith. If, by any chance, a question should arise between the advantage of Spain and the best interests of the church (as he conceived them), the former must be sacrificed relentlessly to the latter. Such was the sovereign's stern ideal. No seeming failure of his policies could shake his belief in their fundamental excellence. That whatever he did was done for the greater glory of God, that success or failure depended upon the inscrutable will of the Almighty and not upon himself, were his guiding convictions, which he transmitted to his Spanish successors.

Not only was Philip a man of principles and ideals, but he was possessed of a boundless capacity for work and an indomitable will. He preferred tact and diplomacy to war and prowess of arms, though he was quite willing to order his troops to battle if the object, in his opinion, was right. He was personally less accustomed to the sword than to the pen, and no clerk ever toiled more industriously at his papers than did this king. From early morning until far into the night he bent over minutes and reports and other memoranda of kingcraft. Naturally cautious and reserved, he was dignified and princely in public. In his private life, he was orderly and extremely affectionate to his family and servants. Loyalty was Philip's best attribute.

There was a less happy side to the character of Philip II. He was suspicious and deceitful; he was too meticulous about details and minutiae of administration to grasp the larger problems of statesmanship; and he was so hostile to dissent in state and church that in a highly intolerant age he earned the reputation of being most intolerant. His drastic use of the Inquisition undoubtedly promoted a kind of unity within Spain, but such unity was dearly bought, and in the long run it proved deleterious to the political and economic strength of the Spanish nation.

In his efforts to make Spain the greatest power in the world

and to restore the unity of Christendom, Philip II was doomed to failure. The chief reason for the failure is simple—it was the number and variety of the problems and projects with which he was concerned. It was a case of the king putting a finger in too many pies—he was cruelly burned. Could Philip II have devoted all his energies to one thing at a time, he might conceivably have had greater success, but as it was, he had to divide his attention between supervising the complex administration of his already wide dominions and annexing in addition the monarchy and empire of Portugal, between promoting a vigorous commercial and colonial policy and suppressing a stubborn revolt in the Netherlands, between championing Catholicism in both England and France and protecting Christendom against victorious Moslems. It was this multiplicity of interests that paralyzed the might of the Spanish monarch, yet each one of his foreign activities was epochal in the history of the country affected. We shall therefore briefly review Philip's activities in order.

Manifold  
Problems  
Confront-  
ing  
Philip II

As we have seen, Philip II inherited a number of states which had separate political institutions and customs. He believed in national unification, at least for Spain. National unification implied uniformity, and uniformity implied greater power of the crown. So Philip sought to further the work of his great-grandparents, Ferdinand and Isabella. Absolutism and uniformity became his watchwords in internal administration. Politically Philip made no pretense of consulting the cortes on legislation, and, although he convoked them to vote new taxes, he established the rule that the old taxes were to be considered as granted in perpetuity and as constituting the ordinary revenue of the crown. He treated the nobles as ornamental rather than useful, retiring them from royal offices in favor of lawyers and other subservient members of the middle class. In contrast with Charles V, Philip II had a "court" conception of government, that everything was to be directed by him from his court and through his secretaries. All business was thus conducted by correspondence and with a final reference to the king, and the natural result was endless red tape and delay and eventually a paralyzing of local initiative and efficient central government.

Financially and economically the period was unfortunate for Spain. The burden of the host of foreign enterprises fell with

crushing weight upon the Spanish kingdom and particularly upon Castile. Aragon, which was poor and jealous of its own rights, would give little. The income from the Netherlands, at first large, was stopped by the revolt. The Italian states barely paid expenses. The revenue from the American mines, which has been greatly exaggerated, enriched the pockets of foreign capitalists more than the treasury of the state.<sup>1</sup> In Spain itself, the greater part of the land was owned by the ecclesiastical corporations and the nobles, who were exempt from taxation but were intermittently fleeced. Moreover, the ten per cent tax on all sales—the *alcabala*—gradually paralyzed native industrial enterprise. And the persecution of wealthy and industrious Jews and Moors diminished the resources of the kingdom. Spain, at the close of the century, despite seeming opulence, was on the verge of bankruptcy.

In religious matters Philip II aimed at assuring uniform adherence of his subjects to the Catholic Church. He felt, like so many of his contemporaries, that disparity of belief among citizens would destroy the state. Both from political motives and from religious zeal Philip was a Catholic. He therefore advised the pope, watched with interest the proceedings of the great council of Trent which was engaged with the reformation of the church,<sup>2</sup> and labored for the triumph of his religion not only in his own dominions and in France, but also in Poland, in England, and even in Scandinavia. In Spain he strengthened the Inquisition and used it as a tool of royal despotism and religious intolerance.

Territorially Philip II desired to complete political unity in the peninsula by combining the crown of Portugal with that of Spain. He himself was closely related to the Portuguese royal family, and in 1580 he laid formal claim to its inheritance. The duke of Braganza, whose claim was better than Philip's, was bought off by immense grants, and the country was overrun by Spanish troops. Philip endeavored to placate the Portuguese by full recognition of their constitutional rights and in particular by favoring the lesser nobility or country gentry. Although the monarchies and vast colonial possessions of Spain and Portugal were thus joined for sixty years under a common king, this arrangement never commanded any affection in Por-

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 87–90.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 185–187.

tugal, with the result that at the first opportunity, in 1640, Portuguese independence was restored under the leadership of the Braganza family.

The most serious domestic difficulty which Philip had to face was the revolt of the rich and populous Netherlands, which we shall discuss presently. But with other revolts the king had to contend. In his efforts to stamp out heresy and peculiar customs among the descendants of the Moors who still lived in the southern part of Spain, Philip aroused armed revolt. The Moriscos, as they were called, struggled desperately from 1568 to 1570 to reestablish the independence of Granada; their rebellion was suppressed with great cruelty. A revolt of Aragon in 1591 was put down by a Castilian army; the constitutional rights of Aragon were diminished and the kingdom was reduced to a greater measure of submission.

The causes that led to the revolt of the Netherlands may be stated as fourfold. (1) Financial. The burdensome taxes which Charles V had laid upon the country were increased by Philip II and often applied to defray the expenses of other parts of the Spanish possessions. Furthermore, the restrictions which Philip imposed upon Dutch commerce in the interest of that of Spain threatened to interfere seriously with the wonted economic prosperity of the Netherlands. (2) Political. Philip II sought to centralize authority in the Netherlands and despotically deprived the cities and nobles of many of their traditional privileges. Philip never visited the country in person after 1559, and he entrusted its government to regents and to Spaniards rather than to native leaders. The scions of the old and proud noble families of the Netherlands naturally resented being supplanted in lucrative and honorable public offices by persons whom they could regard only as upstarts. (3) Religious. Despite the rapid spread of Calvinistic Protestantism throughout the northern provinces, Philip was resolved to force Catholicism upon all of his subjects. He increased the number of bishoprics, decreed acts of uniformity, and with vigor and cruelty utilized the Inquisition to carry his policy into effect. (4) Personal. The Netherlanders loved Charles V because he had been born and reared among them and always considered their country as his native land. Philip II was born and brought up in Spain. He spoke a language foreign

The Re-  
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HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE

to the Netherlands, and by their inhabitants he was thought of as an alien.

At first the opposition in the Netherlands was directed chiefly against the Inquisition and the presence of Spanish garrisons in the towns. The regent, Margaret of Parma, Philip's half-sister, endeavored to banish public discontent by a few concessions. The Spanish troops were withdrawn and certain unpopular officials were dismissed. But influential noblemen and burghers banded themselves together early in 1566 and presented to the regent Margaret a petition, in which, while protesting their loyalty, they expressed fear of a general revolt and begged that a special embassy be sent to Philip to urge upon him the necessity of abolishing the Inquisition and of redressing their other grievances. The regent, at first disquieted by the petitioners, was reassured by one of her advisers, who exclaimed, "What, Madam, is your Highness afraid of these beggars (*ces gueux*)?" Henceforth the chief opponents of Philip's policies in the Netherlands humorously labelled themselves "Beggars" and assumed the emblems of common begging, the wallet and the bowl. The fashion spread quickly, and the Beggars' insignia were everywhere to be seen, worn as trinkets, especially in the large towns. In accordance with the Beggars' petition, an embassy was despatched to Spain to lay the grievances before Philip II.

Philip II at first promised to abolish the Inquisition in the Netherlands, but soon repented of his promise. For meanwhile, excited by the king's attempt to make them conform to Catholicism, mobs of radical Protestants, far more revolutionary than the respectable Beggars, were rushing to arms, breaking into Catholic churches, wrecking the altars, smashing the images to pieces, profaning monasteries, and showing in their retaliation as much violence as the royal agents had shown cruelty in persecution. In August, 1566, this sacrilegious iconoclasm reached its climax in the irreparable ruin of the magnificent cathedral at Antwerp. Philip replied to these acts by sending (1567) his most famous general, the duke of Alva, into the Netherlands with a large army and with instructions to cow the people into submission.

Alva proved himself quite capable of understanding and executing his master's wishes. One of his first acts was the creation of a "Council of Troubles," an arbitrary tribunal which tried

cases of treason and which operated so notoriously as to merit its popular appellation of the "Council of Blood." During the duke's stay of six years, it has been estimated that eight thousand persons were executed, including the counts of Egmont and Horn, thirty thousand were despoiled of their property, and one hundred thousand quitted the country. Alva, moreover, levied an enormous tax of one tenth upon the price of merchandise sold. As the tax was collected on several distinct processes, it absorbed at least seven tenths of the value of certain goods—of cloth, for instance. The tax, together with the lawless confusion throughout the country, was a most serious blow at the economic prosperity of the Netherlands. It was quite natural, therefore, that the burgesses of the southern Netherlands, Catholic though most of them were, should unite with the nobles and with the Protestants of the north in opposing Spanish tyranny. The whole country was now called to arms.

One of the principal noblemen of the Netherlands was a German, William of Nassau, prince of Orange.<sup>1</sup> He had been governing the provinces of Holland and Zeeland when Alva arrived, but as he was already at the point of <sup>William of</sup> Orange accepting Protestantism he had prudently retired into Germany, leaving his estates to be confiscated by the Spanish governor. Certain trifling successes of the insurgents now called William back to head the popular movement. For many years he bore the brunt of the war and proved himself not only a resourceful general, but an able diplomat and a whole-souled patriot.

The first armed forces of William of Orange were easily routed by Alva, but in 1569 a far more menacing situation was presented. In that year William began to charter corsairs and privateers to prey upon Spanish shipping. These "Sea Beggars," as they were called, were mostly wild and lawless desperadoes who stopped at nothing in their hatred of Catholics and Spaniards. They early laid the foundations of Dutch maritime power and at the same time proved a constant torment to Alva. They made frequent incursions into the numerous waterways of the Netherlands

<sup>1</sup> William (1533-1584), now commonly called "the Silent." There appears to be no contemporaneous justification of the adjective "silent" as applied to him. He was really quite talkative, but the misnomer, once adopted by later writers, has insistently clung to him.

and perpetually fanned the embers of revolt on land. Gradually William collected new armies, which more and more successfully defied Alva.

The harsh tactics of Alva had failed to restore the Netherlands to Philip's control, and in 1573 Alva was replaced in the regency by the more politic Requesens, who continued the struggle as best he could but with even less success than Alva. Soon after Requesens's death in 1576, the Spanish army in the Netherlands, left without pay or food, mutinied and inflicted such horrible indignities upon several cities, notably Antwerp, that the savage attack is called the "Spanish Fury." Deputies of most of the provinces at once concluded an agreement, termed "the pacification of Ghent" (1576), by which they mutually guaranteed resistance to the Spaniards until the king should abolish the Inquisition and restore their old-time liberties.

Then Philip II tried a policy of concession, but the new governor, his half-brother, the dashing Don John of Austria, fresh from a great naval victory over the Turks, soon discovered that it was too late to reconcile the Protestants. William the Silent was wary of the Spanish offers, and Don John died in 1578 without having pacified the Netherlands.

But Philip was not without some success in the Netherlands. He was fortunate in having a particularly determined and tactful governor in the country from 1578 to 1592 in the person of Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma. Skillfully mingling war and diplomacy, Farnese succeeded in sowing discord between the northern and southern provinces: the former were largely Calvinist and commercial; the latter were Catholic and industrial, and partially French. The ten southern provinces might eventually have more to fear from the northern provinces than from continued union with Spain; their representatives, therefore, signed a defensive league at Arras in 1579 for the protection of the Catholic religion and with the avowed purpose of effecting a reconciliation with Philip II. In the same year the northern provinces agreed to the union of Utrecht, binding themselves together "as if they were one province" to maintain their rights and liberties "with life-blood and goods" against Spanish tyranny and to grant complete freedom of worship and of religious opinion throughout the confederation.

In this way the "pacification of Ghent" was nullified and

the Netherlands were split into two parts, each going its own way, each developing its own history. The southern portion was to remain in Habsburg hands for over two centuries, being successively termed "Spanish Netherlands" and "Austrian Netherlands"; roughly speaking, it is what to-day we call Belgium. The northern portion was to become free and independent, and, as the "United Provinces" or simply "Holland," to take its place among the nations of the world. For a considerable period of time Holland was more prosperous than Belgium. The latter suffered more grievously than the former from the actual hostilities; and the Dutch,<sup>1</sup> by closing the River Scheldt and dominating the adjacent seas, dealt a mortal blow at the industrial and commercial supremacy of Antwerp and transferred the chief trade and business of all the Netherlands to their own city of Amsterdam.

Division  
of the  
Nether-  
lands

For many years the struggle dragged on in the Netherlands. At times it seemed probable that Farnese and the Spaniards would overcome the North by force as they had obtained the South by diplomacy. But a variety of reasons explain the ultimate success of the Dutch. The nature of the country rendered ordinary campaigning very difficult; the network of canals constituted natural lines of defense and the cutting of the dikes could easily imperil an invading army. Again, the seafaring propensities of the Dutch enabled them to fit out an increasing number of privateers which habitually preyed upon Spanish commerce: it was not long before this traffic grew important and legitimate, so that in the following century Amsterdam became one of the greatest cities of the world, and Holland assumed a prominent place among commercial and colonial nations.<sup>2</sup> Thirdly, the employment of foreign mercenaries in the army of defense enabled the native population to devote more time to peaceful pursuits, and, despite the persistence of war, the Dutch provinces increased steadily in wealth and prosperity. Fourthly, the cautious Fabian policy of William the Silent prevented the Dutch from staking heavily upon battles in the open

<sup>1</sup> "Dutch" is really synonymous with "Netherlandish," but in modern times it has been commonly used to designate the people (and language) of the northern Netherlands, that is, of Holland. The people of the southern (Belgian) Netherlands who speak Netherlandish are called Flemings, and those who speak French are called Walloons.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 391-393.

field. Fifthly, the Dutch received a good deal of assistance from Protestants of Germany, England, and France. Finally, Philip II pursued too many great projects at once to be able to bring a single one to a satisfactory conclusion; his war with Queen Elizabeth of England and his interference in the affairs of France inextricably complicated his plans in the Netherlands.

In 1581 Philip II published a ban against William of Orange, proclaiming him a traitor and an outlaw and offering a reward to anyone who would take him dead or alive. William replied by his famous *Apology* to the charges against him; but his practical answer to the king was the Act of Abjuration, by which at his persuasion the representatives of the northern provinces, assembled at The Hague, solemnly proclaimed their separation from the crown of Spain, broke the royal seal of Philip II, and declared the king deprived of all authority over them. We should call this Act of 1581 the Dutch declaration of independence. It was an augury of the definitive result of the war.

Although William the Silent was assassinated by an agent of Spain (1584), and Antwerp was captured from the Protestants in 1585, the ability and genius of Farnese did not avail to make further headway against the United Provinces. But Philip II, stubborn to the end, positively refused to recognize Dutch independence. In 1609 Philip's son and successor consented to a twelve years' truce with the states-general of the northern Netherlands. In the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) the Dutch and Spaniards again became embroiled, and the freedom of the republic was not recognized officially by Spain till the general peace of Westphalia in 1648.

The seven provinces, which had waged such long war with Spain, constituted, by mutual agreement, a confederacy, each preserving a distinct local government and administration, but all subject to a general parliament (the states-general). Besides, several provinces usually had the same stadholder (or governor), an office which became hereditary in the Orange family. Between the states-general and the stadholder, a constitutional conflict was carried on throughout the greater part of the seventeenth century. The former, supported by the well-to-do burghers, favored the loose federal oligarchy, while the latter, upheld by most of the poorer classes, labored for the development of monarchical institutions under the Orange family.

Not only his efforts in the Netherlands but many other projects of Philip II were frustrated by remarkable parallel developments in the two national monarchies of England and France. Both these countries were naturally jealous and fearful of an undue expansion of Spain, which might upset the balance of power. Both states, from their geographical locations, would normally be imical to Philip II. England would desire, from her island position, to destroy the monopoly which Spain claimed of the carrying trade of the seas. France, still encircled by Habsburg possessions in Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands, would adhere to her traditional policy of allying herself with every foe of the Spanish king. Then, too, the papal authority had been rejected in England and seriously questioned in France: Philip's crusading zeal made him the champion of the church in those countries. For ecclesiastical as well as for economic and political purposes it seemed necessary to the Spanish king that he should bring France and England under his direct influence. On their side, patriotic Frenchmen and Englishmen resented such foreign interest in their domestic affairs, and the eventual failure of Philip registered a noteworthy growth of national feeling among the peoples who victoriously contended against him. The beginnings of the real modern greatness of France and England date from their struggle with Philip II.

Complications  
with Eng-  
land and  
France

At the outset of his reign, Philip seemed quite successful in his foreign relations. As we have seen, he was in alliance with England through his marriage with Queen Mary Tudor (1553-1558). She had temporarily restored the English church to communion with the Holy See, and was conducting her foreign policy in harmony with Philip's; because of her husband she lost to the French the town of Calais, the last English possession on the Continent (1558). Likewise, as has been said, Philip II concluded with France in 1559 the advantageous treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis. But during the ensuing thirty years the tables were turned. Both England and France ended by securing respite from Spanish interference.

Mary Tudor died unhappy and childless in 1558, and the succession of her half-sister Queen Elizabeth, daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, altered the relations between the English and Spanish courts. Elizabeth (1558-1603) was possessed

of an imperious, haughty, energetic character; she had remarkable intelligence and an absorbing patriotism. She inspired such Queen Elizabeth of England confidence in her advisers and respect among her people, that she was commonly called "Good Queen Bess" despite the fact that her habits of deceit and double-dealing gave color to the French king's remark that she was the greatest liar in Christendom. This was the woman with whom Philip II had to deal. He tried many tactics in order to gain his ends. All of them were hopelessly unsuccessful.

Philip first proposed matrimony, but Elizabeth was very careful not to give herself, or England, such a master. Then when the queen declared herself a Protestant and showed no inclination to assist Philip in any of his enterprises, and especially when she patronized raids on his overseas commerce and rebellion of his Dutch subjects, the Spanish king sought her dethronement. He encouraged sedition in England and Ireland, and plots looking to Elizabeth's assassination. Many conspiracies against the English queen centred in the person of the ill-starred Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, who was next in line of succession to the English throne and withal a Catholic.

Descended from the Stuart kings of Scotland and from Henry VII of England, related to the powerful family of Guise in France, Mary had been brought up at the French court and married to the short-lived French king, Francis II. Upon the death of the latter she returned Queen Mary of Scotland in 1561 to Scotland, a young woman of but eighteen years, only to find that the government had fallen victim to the prevalent factional fights among the Scottish nobles and that in the preceding year the parliament had solemnly adopted a Calvinistic form of Protestantism.<sup>1</sup> By means of tact and mildness, however, Mary won the respect of the nobles and the admiration of the people, until a series of marital troubles and blunders—her marriage with a worthless cousin, Henry Darnley, and then her scandalous marriage with Darnley's profligate murderer, the earl of Bothwell—alienated the people from her and drove her into exile. She abdicated the throne of Scotland in favor of her infant son, James VI, who was reared a Protestant (and who subsequently became King James I of England), and then (1568) she threw herself upon the mercy of Elizabeth. She

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 167-169.

thought she would find in England a haven of refuge; instead she found a prison.

For the score of years during which she remained Elizabeth's prisoner, Mary Stuart was the object of many plots and conspiracies against the existing governments of both Scotland and England. In every such scheme were to be found the machinations and money of the Spanish king. In fact, as time went on, it seemed to a growing section of the English people just as certain that the cause of Elizabeth was bound up with Protestantism, with national independence and prosperity, as that the success of Mary would lead to the triumph of Catholicism, the political supremacy of Spain, and the commercial ruin of England. Under these circumstances Mary's fate was sealed. Because of a political situation over which she had slight control, the ex-queen of Scotland was beheaded by Elizabeth's orders in 1587.

Philip II had now tried and failed in every expedient but one,—the employment of sheer force. Even this he attempted in order to avenge the death of Mary Stuart and to bring England, politically, religiously, and commercially, into harmony with his Spanish policies. It has sometimes been said that the underlying cause of the conflict between England and Spain in the second half of the sixteenth century, together with its chief interest, was religious—that it was part of an epic struggle between Protestantism and Catholicism. There may be a measure of truth in such an idea, but most recent writers believe that the chief motives for the conflict, as well as its important results, were essentially economic. From the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, English sailors and freebooters, such as Hawkins and Drake, took the offensive against Spanish trade and commerce; and many ships, laden with silver and goods from the New World and bound for Cadiz, were seized and towed into English harbors. The queen herself frequently received a share of the booty and therefore tended to encourage the practice. For nearly thirty years Philip put up with the capture of his treasure ships, the raiding of his colonies, and the open assistance rendered to his rebellious subjects.<sup>1</sup> Only when he reached the conclusion that his power would never be secure in the Netherlands or in America did he despatch the armada.

The story of the preparation and the fate of the "Invincible

<sup>1</sup> On the English freebooters of the time, see below, pp. 385–388.

"Armada" is almost too well known to require repetition. In 1588 there issued from the mouth of the Tagus River the most formidable fleet which Christendom had ever beheld—130 ships, 8,000 seamen, 19,000 soldiers, the flower of the Spanish chivalry. In the Netherlands it was to be joined by Alexander Farnese with 33,000 veteran troops. But in one important respect Philip had underestimated his enemy; he had counted upon a divided country. Now the attack upon England was primarily national, rather than religious, and Catholics vied with Protestants in offering aid to the queen; it was a united rather than a divided nation which Philip faced. The English fleet, composed of comparatively small and easily manœuvred vessels, worked great havoc upon the ponderous and slow-moving Spanish galleons, and the wreck of the armada was completed by a furious gale which tossed ship after ship upon the rocks of northern Scotland. Less than a third of the original expedition ever returned to Spain. Its failure led to the freedom of Holland and marked the collapse of the Spanish monopoly upon the high seas and in the New World.

Philip II had thus failed in his herculean effort against England. He continued in small ways to annoy and to irritate Elizabeth. He tried—without serious result—to incite the Catholics of Ireland against the queen. He exhausted his arsenals and his treasures in determined attempts to equip a second and even a third armada. But he was doomed to bitterest disappointment, for two years before his death an English fleet sacked his own great port of Cadiz. The defeat of Philip's armada was England's first title to naval and commercial supremacy.

Before we can appreciate the motives and results of the interference of Philip II in French affairs, a few words must be said

**France in the Time of Philip II** about what had happened in France since Francis I (1515-1547) and his son, Henry II (1547-1559), exalted the royal power in their country and not only

preserved French independence of the surrounding empire of Charles V but also increased French prestige by means of an aggressive policy in Italy and by the extension of frontiers toward the Rhine. Henry II had married a member of the famous Florentine family of the Medici—Catherine de' Medici—a large and ugly woman, but ambitious, resourceful, and capable. By means of trickery and deceit she took an active part in French

politics from the death of her husband, throughout the reigns of her feeble sons, Francis II (1559-1560), Charles IX (1560-1574), and Henry III (1574-1589). Catherine found her position and that of her royal children continually threatened by (1) the Protestants (Huguenots), (2) the great nobles, and (3) Philip II of Spain.

French Protestantism had grown steadily during the first half of the sixteenth century until it was estimated that from a twentieth to a thirtieth of the nation had fallen away from the Catholic Church. The influence of the advocates of the new faith was, however, much greater than their number. The Huguenots, as they were called, were recruited mainly from the prosperous, intelligent middle class,—the bourgeoisie,—who had been entrusted by preceding French kings with many important offices. The Huguenots represented, therefore, a powerful social class, and one that was opposed to the undue increase of royal power. They demanded, not only religious toleration for themselves, but also regular meetings of the estates-general and control by the nation's representatives of financial matters. The kings, on their part, felt that political solidarity and their own personal rule depended upon the maintenance of religious uniformity in the nation and the consequent defeat of the pretensions of the Huguenots. Francis I and Henry II had persecuted the Protestants with bitterness. From 1562 to 1593 a series of so-called religious wars embroiled the whole country.

French politics were further complicated during the second half of the sixteenth century by the recrudescence of the power of the nobles. The so-called religious wars were quite as much political as religious; they resulted from efforts of this or that faction of noblemen to dictate to a weak king. Two noble families particularly vied with each other for power,—the Bourbons and the Guises,—and the unqualified triumph of either would be certain to bring calamity to the sons of Catherine de' Medici. The Bourbons bore the proud title of princes of the blood because they were direct descendants of a French king. Their descent, to be sure, was from Saint Louis, king in the thirteenth century, and they were now, therefore, only distant cousins of the reigning kings, but as the latter died off, one after another, leaving no direct successors, the Bourbons by the French law of strict

The Religious Wars in France

The Bourbons

male succession became heirs to the royal family. The head of the Bourbons, a certain Anthony, had married the queen of Navarre and had become thereby king of Navarre, although the greater part of that country—the region south of the Pyrenees—had been annexed to Spain in 1512. Anthony's brother Louis, prince of Condé, had a reputation for bravery, loyalty, and ability. Both Condé and the king of Navarre were Protestants.

The Guise family was descended from a duke of Lorraine who had attached himself to the court of Francis I. Lorraine was then

**The Guise Family** a dependency of the Holy Roman Empire, but its duke was French in sympathy, and he had aided the French king in securing Metz from the Emperor Charles V and in capturing Calais from the English, with a result that the Guises were popular with a goodly part of the French nation. The duke of Guise remained a staunch Catholic, and his brother, called the Cardinal of Lorraine, was head of as many as twelve bishoprics, which gave him an enormous revenue and made him the most conspicuous churchman in France. During the reign of Henry II (1547-1559) the Guises were especially influential. They fought valiantly in foreign wars. They spurred on the king to a great persecution of the Huguenots. They increased their own landed estates. And they married one of their relatives—Mary, queen of Scots—to the heir to the throne. But after the brief reign of Mary's husband, Francis II (1559-1560), the Guise family encountered not only the active opposition of their chief noble rivals, the Bourbons, with their Huguenot allies, but likewise the jealousy and crafty intrigues of Catherine de' Medici.

Catherine feared both the ambition of the powerful Guise family and the disruptive tendencies of Protestantism. The result was a long series of confused civil wars between the ardent followers, respectively Catholic and Protestant, of the Guise and Bourbon families, in which the queen-mother gave support first to one side and then to the other. There were no fewer than eight of these sanguinary conflicts, each one ending with the grant of slight concessions to the Huguenots and the maintenance of the weak kings upon the throne. The massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day (1572) was a horrible incident of Catherine's policy of trimming. Fearing the undue influence over the king of Admiral de Coligny, a respected and able Huguenot leader, the queen-mother, with the aid of the Guises, prevailed upon the

impressionable Charles IX to authorize the wholesale assassination of Protestants. The signal was given by the ringing of a Parisian church-bell at two o'clock in the morning of 24 August, 1572, and the slaughter went on throughout the day in the capital and for several weeks in the provinces. Coligny was murdered; even women and children were not spared. It is estimated that in all at least three thousand persons—perhaps ten thousand—lost their lives.

The massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day did not destroy French Protestantism or render the Huguenot leaders more timid in asserting their claims. On the other hand, it brought into clear light a noteworthy division within the ranks of their Catholic opponents in France. On one side were the rigorous followers of the Guise family, who complained only that the massacre had not been sufficiently comprehensive, and, on the other side, were a group of moderate Catholics, usually styled the *Politiques*, who, while continuing to adhere to the Roman Church, and, when called upon, bearing arms on the side of the king, were strongly opposed to the employment of force or violence or persecution in matters of religion. The *Politiques* were particularly patriotic, and they blamed the religious wars and the intolerant policy of the Guises for the seeming weakness of the French monarchy. They thought the massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day a blunder as well as a crime.

The emergence of the *Politiques* did not immediately make for peace. Rather, it substituted a three-sided for a two-sided conflict.

After many years, filled with disorder, it became apparent that the children of Catherine de' Medici would have no direct male heirs and that the crown would therefore devolve legally upon the son of Anthony of Bourbon—Henry of Bourbon, king of Navarre and a Protestant. Such an outcome was naturally distasteful to the Guises and abhorrent to Philip II of Spain. In 1585 a league was formed between Henry, duke of Guise, and the Spanish king, whereby the latter undertook by military force to aid the former's family in seizing the throne. French politics in that event would be controlled by Spain, and Philip would secure valuable assistance in crushing the Netherlands and conquering England.<sup>1</sup> The immediate outcome of the agreement

<sup>1</sup> At that very time, Mary, queen of Scots, cousin of Henry, duke of Guise, was held a prisoner in England by Queen Elizabeth.

was the war of the three Henrys—Henry III, son of Catherine de' Medici and king of France; Henry, duke of Bourbon, king of Navarre, and heir to the French throne; and Henry, duke of Guise, with the foreign support of Philip II of Spain. Henry of Guise represented the extreme Catholic party; Henry of Navarre, the Protestant faction; and Henry of France, the Catholic moderates—the *Politiques*—who wanted peace and were willing to grant a measure of religious toleration. Henry of Navarre and Henry of France were upholders of French independence against the encroachments of Spain.

The king was speedily gotten into the power of the Guises. But little headway was made by the extreme Catholics against Henry of Navarre, who now received domestic aid from the *Politiques* and foreign assistance from Queen Elizabeth of England, and who benefited by the continued misfortunes of Philip II. At no time was the Spanish king able to devote his whole attention and energy to the French war. At length in 1588 Henry III caused Henry of Guise to be assassinated. The king never had a real chance to prove whether he could become a national leader by expelling the foreigners and putting an end to civil war, for he himself was assassinated in 1589. With his dying breath he designated the king of Navarre as his successor.

**Henry IV of France and the Treaty of Vervins with Philip II** Henry of Navarre, the first of the Bourbon family upon the throne of France, took the title of Henry IV (1589–1610).<sup>1</sup> For four years after his accession, Henry IV was obliged to continue the civil war, but his abjuration of Protestantism and his acceptance of Catholicism in 1593 removed the chief source of opposition to him within France, and the rebellion soon collapsed. With the Spanish king, however, the struggle dragged on until the treaty of Vervins, which in the last year of Philip's life practically confirmed the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis.

Thus Philip II had failed to conquer or to dismember France. He had been unable to harmonize French policies with those of his own in the Netherlands or in England. Despite his endeavors, the French crown was now on the head of one of his enemies, who, if something of a renegade Protestant, had nevertheless granted

<sup>1</sup> It is a curious fact that Henry of Navarre, like Henry of Guise and Henry of France, died by the hand of an assassin.

qualified toleration to heretics.<sup>1</sup> Nor were these failures of Philip's political and religious policies mere negative results to France. The unsuccessful interference of the Spanish king contributed to the assurance of French independence, patriotism, and solidarity. France, not Spain, was to be the centre of European politics during the succeeding century.

In concluding this account of the career of Philip II, a large part of which has dealt with his manifold failures, a word should be added about one exploit that brought glory to the Spanish monarch. It was he who administered the first effective check to the advancing Ottoman Turks.

After the death of Suleiman the Magnificent (1566), the Turks continued to strengthen their hold upon Hungary and to fit out piratical expeditions in the Mediterranean. The latter repeatedly ravaged portions of Sicily, southern Italy, and even the Balearic islands, and in 1570 an Ottoman fleet captured Cyprus from the Venetians. Malta and Crete remained as the only Christian outposts in the Mediterranean. In this extremity, a league was formed to save Italy. Its inspirer and preacher was Pope Pius V, but Genoa and Venice furnished the bulk of the fleet, while Philip II supplied the necessary additional ships and the commander-in-chief in the person of his half-brother, Don John of Austria. The expedition, which comprised 208 vessels, met the Ottoman fleet of 273 ships in the gulf of Lepanto, off the coast of Greece, on 7 October, 1571, and inflicted upon it a crushing defeat. The Turkish warships were almost all sunk or driven ashore; it is estimated that 8,000 Turks lost their lives. When news of the victory reached Rome, Pope Pius intoned the famous verse, "There was a man sent from God whose name was John."

Philip II  
and the  
Ottoman  
Turks

The battle of Lepanto was of great political importance. It gave the naval power of the Moslems a blow from which it never recovered and ended their aggressive warfare in the Mediterranean. It was, in reality, a crusade. Philip II was in his most becoming rôle as champion of church and pope. Hardly a noble family in Spain or Italy was not represented in the battle. Volunteers came from all parts of the world. The celebrated writer Cervantes lost an arm at Lepanto. Western

Battle of  
Lepanto

<sup>1</sup> By the edict of Nantes. See above, pp. 204-205.

Europe was henceforth to be comparatively free from the Turkish peril.<sup>1</sup>

### 3. THE AGE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

For more than a half-century after the death of Philip II, Spain was presided over in turn by his son and his grandson, Philip III (1598–1621) and Philip IV (1621–1665). During the greater part of this period, Spain retained the reputation of being not only a great power but the leading power in Europe.

Philip II, it is true, had failed to bring Holland, England, or France under Spanish control, but his failures, so far as Spain was concerned, were negative rather than positive; they had no immediate repercussion against the dominions or prestige of Spain and its Habsburg dynasty. <sup>Philip III and International Peace</sup>

Indeed, under Philip III, the international situation seemed highly favorable to continued Spanish predominance. In England, the death of Queen Elizabeth (1603) and the accession of James I (who was the son of Mary Stuart and had been king of Scotland since 1567) led to a marked change in respect of Spain. James I was peace-loving and much impressed by Spain; he not only made formal peace with Philip III in 1604 but used his authority to restrain English pirates and freebooters from raiding Spanish colonies and robbing Spanish treasure-ships;<sup>2</sup> he even attempted to negotiate a marriage between a daughter of Philip III and his own son and heir. In France, the assassination of Henry IV (1610) and the succeeding internal troubles during the minority of Louis XIII promised the permanence of the treaty of Vervins and a surcease of the Bourbon feud with Spain.. In the meantime, the Dutch agreed (1609) to a truce with Philip III, whereby, though Holland was at least temporarily lost to Spain, Spain was relieved of Dutch attacks upon her colonies and shipping and was afforded an opportunity to husband her resources for an eventual reconquest of Holland.

In the circumstances, the future seemed rosy for Spain. She was at peace. Precious metals were coming freely to her from America, and her great port of Cadiz now shared with Lisbon

<sup>1</sup> Not altogether, however. A century later, the Turks almost captured Vienna. See below, p. 326.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Walter Raleigh, conspicuous for his anti-Spanish words and deeds in the time of Elizabeth, was imprisoned from 1603 to 1616, and, for a new attack on Spaniards in Venezuela, was executed in 1618.

the chief carrying trade of the Portuguese East Indies. Her grandees were living in luxury, and her captains and adventurers and the surplus of her common people were finding adequate outlet for their energies in the steady development of her colonial dependencies overseas.

Spain retained, moreover, during the first half of the seventeenth century a leading position in European culture and art. The vast royal palace of the Escorial which, with its magnificent renaissance church, Philip II had reared some thirty miles from Madrid, was richly embellished in turn by Philip III and Philip IV. Under these kings, too, flourished such great painters as Velasquez, Murillo, and Rubens, such a gifted historian as the Jesuit Mariana, and such noteworthy poets and dramatists as Lope de Vega and Calderon.<sup>1</sup> All the fine arts—literature, painting, sculpture, architecture, and music—continued to be prized and patronized by Spanish monarchs, Spanish grandees, and Spanish churchmen.

Yet, despite all its art, despite all its seeming wealth and power, the Spanish monarchy in the seventeenth century lost its predominance in Europe. To this end, several factors contributed. One was the fact, already alluded to, that the wealth which flowed to Spain from overseas did not permanently enrich the Spanish nation.<sup>2</sup> Another was the expulsion of the Moriscos from the country in 1609; it was dictated by the desire of Philip III to assure national and religious unity in Spain, but among its results was the loss to the country of thousands of skilled industrial workmen. Probably the most important factors, however, were the character of the Spanish monarchy and the limited capacity of the Spanish sovereigns in the seventeenth century.

The Spanish monarchy, we must emphasize, was not a highly centralized national state; it was rather a dynastic empire. Philip III, for example, was sovereign of several kingdoms and principalities—Castile, Aragon, Portugal, Sicily, Naples, Milan, Sardinia, the Netherlands, Mexico, Peru, the Philippines, the Indies,—which were differently administered and which were

#### Decline of Spanish Predomi-nance

<sup>1</sup> On Velasquez, Murillo, Rubens, and Calderon, see below, pp. 561, 567. On Lope de Vega, see above, p. 122, and on Suarez (and Mariana), see below, p. 539. Rubens was Flemish rather than Spanish, but he was a subject of the Spanish monarchy and was honored and pensioned by successive governors of the Spanish Netherlands.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 87–90.

united only in personal allegiance to him as head of the Habsburg dynasty. To operate such a variegated and far-flung empire required of the dynast extraordinary wit and industry, the very qualities which the Spanish successors of Philip II notably lacked. Philip III was extremely virtuous and pious, but he was temperamentally a procrastinator and mentally a sluggard. Philip IV was a fine horseman, a keen hunter, and a discriminating patron of art and letters, but he was pleasure-loving and weak of will. While insisting on the most rigorous court etiquette, both of these Spanish Habsburgs left the actual conduct of public affairs largely to fawning courtiers and unworthy favorites.

The most consistent and absorbing interest of Philip III and Philip IV was in the Habsburg family. They thought of their **Habsburg** Spanish inheritance as so many family possessions, all **Dynastic** redounding to the glory of the Habsburgs. Likewise, **Interests** they thought of Austria and its dependencies, not as foreign countries, but as lands owned by their cousins, the Austrian Habsburgs, and therefore as objects of common family solicitude.

In fact, the ties between Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs were very intimate. In a sense, the Austrian and Spanish realms were parts of a single dynastic empire. Charles of Spain and Ferdinand of Austria had been brothers. Their successors, Philip II and Maximilian II, had been first cousins; Maximilian had married Philip's sister, and Philip had married Maximilian's daughter. Hence Philip III was a grandson of Maximilian II of Austria, as well as a son of Philip II of Spain, and he himself married a niece of Maximilian. Even more intertwined was Philip IV with his Habsburg kinsmen in Austria; his sister married Ferdinand III, and he married Ferdinand's daughter, who was his niece.

In view of the intricate relationships within the Habsburg family and of the dynastic concern which actuated them, it was but natural that the Spanish sovereigns should take a lively interest in whatever befell the Austrian sovereigns. Something very serious befell the Austrian Habsburgs in the seventeenth

century. It caused the Spanish Habsburgs to put forth their utmost efforts in behalf of Austria, and it resulted in the momentous decline of Spain. This very serious thing was the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648).

The Austrian Habsburgs, it will be recalled, ruled over the archduchy of Austria, the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, and the Holy Roman Empire. To these territories and dignities had succeeded, after the death of Ferdinand I in 1564, his son, Maximilian II, and then, in turn, the latter's sons (uncles of Philip III of Spain), Rudolph II (1576-1612), an art-loving but unbalanced recluse, and Matthias (1612-1619), an impressionable prince whose capacity was not equal to his ambition. It was under the weak rule of Rudolph and Matthias that there developed in Germany a situation—religious, economic, and political—which led eventually to civil war and foreign intervention, to the terrible struggle known as the Thirty Years' War.

The  
Austrian  
Habsburgs

The peace of Augsburg (1555) had been expected to settle the religious question in the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>1</sup> In practice, however, it had failed in two respects. In the first place, the provision forbidding further secularization of church property (the "ecclesiastical reservation") was not obeyed; Protestant princes continued to confiscate Catholic estates, and some Catholic ecclesiastics, becoming Protestant, continued to convert their church lands into private holdings. Secondly, the peace had recognized only Catholics and Lutherans, while thereafter the Calvinists came into prominence in southern and central Germany and in Bohemia and they demanded equal rights.

Causes of  
the Thirty  
Years' War

In order to revise the treaty of Augsburg and to extort the needful concessions from the Catholic Habsburg emperor, a union of German Protestant princes was formed in 1608, under the leadership of the zealous young Calvinist prince of the Palatinate, Frederick, commonly called the Elector Palatine of the Rhine. On the other hand, German Catholics were in an equally belligerent frame of mind. Not only were they determined to resist further secularization of church property, but, emboldened by the progress of the Catholic reformation during the second half of the sixteenth century,<sup>2</sup> they were anxious to

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 158-159, 203, 237.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 188-190.

revise the earlier religious settlement in their own interest and to recover if possible the lands that had been lost to the church. In 1609, a league of Catholic princes was formed under the guidance of the able Duke Maximilian of Bavaria. Religion, coupled with economic greed and political ambition, was obviously dividing Germany into two warlike camps and threatening the Holy Roman Empire with a dreadful civil war. The Catholic league would back the Habsburg emperor against the Protestant union, but Catholic princes were hardly more anxious than Protestant princes to strengthen imperial authority at their own expense. Here was the peril to Habsburg prestige in Germany; unable to prevent civil war, the Habsburg emperor was almost certain to suffer from its outcome. The only support upon which he could surely count was Spain's.

The signal for the outbreak of hostilities in the Holy Roman Empire was a rebellion against the Austrian Habsburgs in their

**The Bohemian Revolt** own kingdom of Bohemia. As the Emperor Matthias was childless, the next in succession to all his lands and titles was his cousin, Ferdinand of Styria, a man of blameless life and resolute character, devoted to the cause of absolutism and fanatically loyal to the Catholic Church. Little opposition to the prospective accession of Ferdinand was encountered in Austria or Hungary. In Bohemia, however, the Czech nobles, many of whom were Calvinists, feared that Ferdinand would deprive them of their special privileges and impede, if not forbid, the exercise of the Protestant religion on their estates. Already there had been encroachments on their political autonomy and religious liberty.

One day in 1618, a group of Czech (Bohemian) noblemen broke into the room where imperial officials were conferring and hurled them out of a window into a castle moat some sixty feet below. This so-called "defenestration" of Ferdinand's representatives was followed by the proclamation of the dethronement of the Habsburgs in Bohemia and the election to the kingship of Frederick, the Calvinistic Elector Palatine. Frederick accepted the crown at Prague and prepared to defend his new title.

At this juncture, the Emperor Matthias died, and Ferdinand of Styria, becoming Ferdinand II (1619-1637), took energetic steps to expel Frederick from Bohemia. He arranged with

Philip III for the invasion of the Palatinate by a Spanish army, and with Maximilian of Bavaria for the invasion of Bohemia by joint forces of Austria and the Catholic league under the command of a famous Bavarian general, Count Tilly. King Frederick had expected support from his father-in-law, James I of England, and from the Lutheran princes of northern Germany, but in both respects he was disappointed. What with parliamentary quarrels at home and a curious desire not to offend Spain, James confined his assistance to pompous advice. Then, too, most of the Lutheran princes, led by the tactful John George, elector of Saxony, hoped by remaining neutral to obtain special concessions from the emperor.

In 1620 Tilly won a decisive victory at White Hill in Bohemia. Frederick fled, and within a very short time the whole country was subdued and Ferdinand II was reinstated. Many rebellious Czech nobles lost their property and lives, and the practice of the Protestant religion was again forbidden in Bohemia. Nor was that all. The fugitive Frederick, now derisively dubbed the "winter king," was driven by Spanish and Bavarian troops out of his original wealthy possessions on the Rhine, into miserable exile, an outcast without land or money. The conquered Palatinate was turned over to Maximilian of Bavaria, who was further rewarded for his services by being recognized as an elector of the Holy Roman Empire in place of the deposed Frederick.

The first period of the war was thus favorable to the Habsburg and Catholic causes. Between 1618 and 1620, revolt had been suppressed in Bohemia, and in Germany an influential Rhenish electorate had been transferred from Calvinist to Catholic hands. Moreover, the Spanish as well as the Austrian Habsburgs had gained prestige, and from 1621 to 1625 Spain occupied the centre of the European stage.

When Philip IV ascended the throne in 1621, he felt that the recent success of Spanish arms in the Palatinate augured well for Spanish reconquest of Holland, and accordingly he promptly renewed the Dutch war. Both France and England espoused the cause of Holland, and the Dutch fitted out an expedition against Brazil. But the French conducted their campaign badly; the Dutch were expelled from Brazil; an English attack on Cadiz was repulsed in

Spain in  
the Thirty  
Years' War

1625; and in the same year came the climax of Spanish military exploits in the capture, after a long siege, of the Dutch town of Breda, a climax which has been immortalized by the masterpiece of the great painter Velasquez.

A special effect of the cumulative successes of Catholicism and the Habsburgs of Spain and Austria was to create grave alarm among the Protestant princes of northern Germany. If these had viewed with composure the failure of Frederick's foolhardy efforts in Bohemia, they beheld with downright dismay the expansion of Bavaria and the destruction of the balance of power between Catholic and Protestant in the Holy Roman Empire, in the Netherlands, and in Europe at large. And so long as the ill-disciplined remnants of Frederick's armies were behaving like highwaymen, pillaging and burning throughout Germany, Ferdinand II declined to grant any concessions to his Protestant vassals.

At this crisis, while the German Protestant princes were wavering between obedience and rebellion, Christian IV of Denmark intervened and inaugurated the second period of the Thirty Years' War within Germany. Christian IV (1588-1648) was impulsive and ambitious. As duke of Holstein he was a member of the Holy Roman Empire and opposed to Habsburg domination. As king of Denmark and Norway he was anxious to extend his influence over the North Sea ports. As a Lutheran, he sought to champion the rights of his German co-religionists and to help them retain the rich lands which they had expropriated from the Catholic Church. In 1625, therefore, Christian invaded Germany, supported by liberal grants of money from England and by the troops of many of the German princes, both Calvinist and Lutheran.

Against the Danish invasion, Tilly unaided might have had difficulty to stand, but fortune seemed to have raised up a co-defender of the Habsburg cause in the person of an extraordinary adventurer, Wallenstein. This man had enriched himself enormously out of the recently confiscated estates of rebellious Czechs, and, in order to benefit himself still further, he secured permission from Ferdinand II to raise an independent army of

Danish  
Interven-  
tion in the  
Thirty  
Years'  
War

his own to restore order in the empire and to expel the Danes. By liberal promises of pay and plunder, the soldier of fortune soon recruited an army of some 50,000 men, and what a motley collection it was! Italian, Swiss, Spaniard, German, Pole, Englishman, and Scot,—Protestant was welcomed as heartily as Catholic,—anyone who loved adventure or hoped for gain, all united by the single tie of loyalty and devotion to Wallenstein. The force was whipped into shape by the undoubted genius of its commander and at once became an effective machine of war. Yet the terrible destructiveness of the war, to which the perpetual plundering of the countryside by his soldiers and camp-followers specially contributed, was a constant source of reproach to Wallenstein.

The campaigning of the second period of the war took place in northern Germany. At Lutter (1626) King Christian IV was defeated overwhelmingly by the combined forces of Tilly and Wallenstein, and the Lutheran states were left at the mercy of the Catholic league. Brandenburg openly espoused the Habsburg cause and aided Ferdinand's generals in expelling the Danish king from German soil. Only the lack of naval control of the Baltic and North seas prevented the victors from seizing Denmark. The desperation of King Christian and the growingly suspicious activity of Sweden resulted in the peace of Lübeck (1629), by which the king of Denmark was left in possession of Jutland, Schleswig, and Holstein, but deprived of the German bishoprics which various members of his family had taken from the Catholic Church.

Following up its successes, the Catholic league prevailed upon the Emperor Ferdinand II in the same year (1629) to sign the edict of Restitution, restoring to the church all the property that had been secularized in violation of the peace of Augsburg of 1555. The edict was to be executed by imperial commissioners, all of whom were Catholics, and so well did they do their work that, within three years of the promulgation of the edict, Catholicism in Germany recovered five bishoprics, thirty Hanse towns, and nearly a hundred monasteries, to say nothing of numerous parish churches.

So far, the religious and economic grievances against the

The Edict  
of Resti-  
tution

A. ~~ian~~ Habsburgs had been confined mainly to Calvinists, but the Lutheran princes were alarmed. The enforcement of the edict of Restitution against all Protestants alike was the signal for a emphatic protest from Lutherans as well as from Calvinists. A favorable opportunity for intervention seemed to present itself to the foremost Lutheran power—Sweden. Not only were many Protestant princes in Germany in a mood to seek foreign assistance against the Catholics, but the emperor was less able to resist invasion, since in 1630, yielding to the urgent entreaties of the Catholic league, he dismissed the officering and ambitious Wallenstein from his service.

The king of Sweden at this time was Gustavus Adolphus (1611–1632), the grandson of that Gustavus Vasa who had established both the independence and the Lutheranism of his country.<sup>1</sup> Gustavus Adolphus was one of the most attractive figures of his age—in the prime of life, tall, fair, and blue-eyed, well educated and versed in seven languages, fond of music and poetry, skilled and daring in war, impetuous and versatile. A rare combination of the idealist and the practical man of affairs, Gustavus Adolphus had dreamed of making Protestant Sweden the leading power in northern Europe and had vigorously set to work to achieve his ends. His determination to encircle the whole Baltic with his own territories—making it literally a Swedish lake—brought him first into conflict with Russia. Not only were Finland and Estonia confirmed to Sweden, but by a treaty of 1617 Russia was deprived of Ingria. Next a stubborn conflict with Poland (1621–1629) secured for Sweden the province of Livonia and the mouth of the Vistula River. Gustavus then turned his longing eyes to the Baltic coast of northern Germany, at the very time when the edict of Restitution promised him aggrieved allies in that quarter.

It was likewise at the very time when Cardinal Richelieu, the chief minister to Louis XIII of France, was seeking some effective means of prolonging the war in Germany to the end that the Bourbon family which he served might profit from the defeat and humiliation of the Habsburgs of Spain and Austria. Richelieu entered into definite alliance with Gustavus Adolphus and supplied him with arms

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 35, 160–161.

and money, for the time asking only that the Protestant chaplains on accord the liberty of Catholic worship in conquered districts.

Gustavus Adolphus landed in Pomerania in 1630 and succeeded to occupy the chief northern fortresses and to treat alliances with the influential Protestant electors of Brandenburg and Saxony. While Gustavus tarried at Potsdam in protracted negotiation with the elector of Brandenburg, Tilly and the imperialists succeeded, after a long siege, in capturing the Lutheran stronghold of Magdeburg (May, 1631). The fall of this city was attended by a mad massacre of the garrison, and of many unarmed citizens, in streets, houses, and churches; about 20,000 perished; wholesale plundering and a general confusion completed the havoc. The sack of Magdeburg evoked the greatest indignation from the Lutherans. Gustavus Adolphus, now joined by the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony and many other Protestant princes of northern Germany, advanced into Saxony, where, in September, 1631, he avenged the destruction of Magdeburg by defeating decisively the smaller army of Tilly on the Breitenfeld, near Leipzig. Then Gustavus turned southwestward, making for the Rhine valley, with the idea of forming a union with the Calvinist princes. Only the prompt protest of his powerful ally, Richelieu, prevented the rich archbishoprics of Cologne, Trier, and Mainz from passing immediately under Swedish control. Next, Gustavus Adolphus turned east and invaded Bavaria. Tilly, who had reassembled his forces, failed to check the invasion and lost his life in a battle on the Lech (April, 1632). The victorious Swedish king then made ready to carry the war into the hereditary dominions of the Austrian Habsburgs. As a last resort to check the invader, the emperor recalled Wallenstein with full power over his free-lance army. About the same time the emperor concluded an especially close military alliance with Philip IV of Spain.

The memorable contest between the two great generals—Gustavus Adolphus and Wallenstein—was brought to a tragic close in the late autumn of the same year on the fateful field of Lützen. Wallenstein was defeated, but Gustavus was killed. Although the Swedes continued the struggle, they were comparatively few in numbers and possessed no such general as their fallen king. On the other side, Wallenstein's loyalty could

<sup>1</sup> On the policy of Cardinal Richelieu, see below, pp. 282-287.

not be depended upon; rumors reached the ear of the emperor that his foremost general was negotiating with the Protestants to make peace on his own terms; and Wallenstein was assassinated in his camp by fanatical imperialists (February, 1634). The tragic removal of both Wallenstein and Gustavus Adolphus, the economic exhaustion of the whole empire, and the desire on the part of many Protestant princes, as well as on the part of the Catholic emperor, to rid Germany of foreign soldiers and foreign influence—all these developments seemed to point to the possibility of concluding the third, or Swedish, period of the war, not perhaps as advantageously for the imperialist cause as the Bohemian revolt or the Danish intervention had ended, but at any rate in a spirit of reasonable compromise. In fact, in May, 1635, a treaty was signed at Prague between the emperor and such princes as were then willing to lay down their arms, whereby all the military forces in the empire were henceforth to be under the direct control of the emperor (with the exception of a contingent under the special command of the Lutheran elector of Saxony); all princely leagues within the empire were to be dissolved; mutual restoration of captured territory was to be made; and, as to the fundamental question of the ownership of ecclesiastical lands, it was settled that any such lands actually held in the year 1627, whether acquired before or after the religious peace of Augsburg of 1555, should continue so to be held for forty years or until in each case an amicable arrangement could be reached.

What wrecked the peace of Prague was not so much the disinclination of the Protestant princes of Germany to accept its

French  
Interven-  
tion in the  
Thirty  
Years'  
War

terms as the policy of Cardinal Richelieu of France. Richelieu was convinced more than ever that French greatness depended upon Habsburg defeat; he would not suffer the princes to make peace with the emperor until the latter was soundly trounced and all Germany devastated. Instead of supplying the Swedes and the German Protestants with assistance from behind the scenes, he would now come boldly upon the stage and engage the emperor and the king of Spain in open combat.

The final, or French, period of the Thirty Years' War lasted from 1635 to 1648—almost as long as the other three periods put together. Richelieu wished to humble the Austrian Habsburgs

and, if possible, to wrest Alsace from the Holy Roman Empire; but his major designs were against Austria's close ally, Philip IV of Spain. The wily French cardinal could count upon the Swedes and many of the German princes to keep up the fighting in Germany against the Habsburg emperor, while French armies attacked the encircling dominions of the Habsburg king of Spain.

Thus, from 1635 onward Philip IV had to wage a very different kind of war from what he had previously waged. Prior to 1635 he had actively supported his Austrian kinsman and conducted an offensive against Holland; after 1635 he was confronted with such violent attacks by the French in the Belgian Netherlands, in Franche Comté, in northern Italy, and in Spain itself that he had to abandon the offensive against Holland and also against the German Protestants.

At first, the Spanish armies seemed to be superior to the French. The former were composed mainly of veterans and commanded by several able generals, including Prince Piccolomini, an Italian who had served under Wallenstein and had participated in his assassination. The French armies, totalling some 200,000 men, lacked proper training and competent commanders. In 1636 a large Spanish force invaded northern France and almost captured Paris, and in 1637 another Spanish force crossed the Pyrenees and invaded southern France.

Gradually, however, the balance shifted. Spanish armies made less and less headway against the French, and as the latter acquired experience and more capable generals they began to press the Spaniards back in the Netherlands, in the Rhineland, in northern Italy, and in southern France. By 1640 Philip IV was threatened with the disintegration of his dynastic empire. In that year, not only were the Dutch coöperating with the French to end his rule in the Netherlands, but an assembly of Portuguese nobles at Lisbon proclaimed his deposition as king of Portugal and the accession of John IV, the head of the native noble family of Braganza and a relative of the king whom Philip II had succeeded in 1580 when he annexed Portugal to Spain. And shortly after 1640, revolts against Philip IV broke out in Naples and in Catalonia (Aragon). Valiantly, but hopelessly, the Spanish monarch struggled on. The Catalans were repressed, and so were the Neapolitans; Milan was successfully defended and the Belgian Netherlands were

Troubles  
of  
Philip IV  
of Spain

grimly held. But these defensive endeavors quite exhausted the resources of Philip IV; he was unable to recover Portugal or to make headway against Holland or France. In 1643 the prestige of the Spanish infantry was ruined by a great French victory at Rocroy.

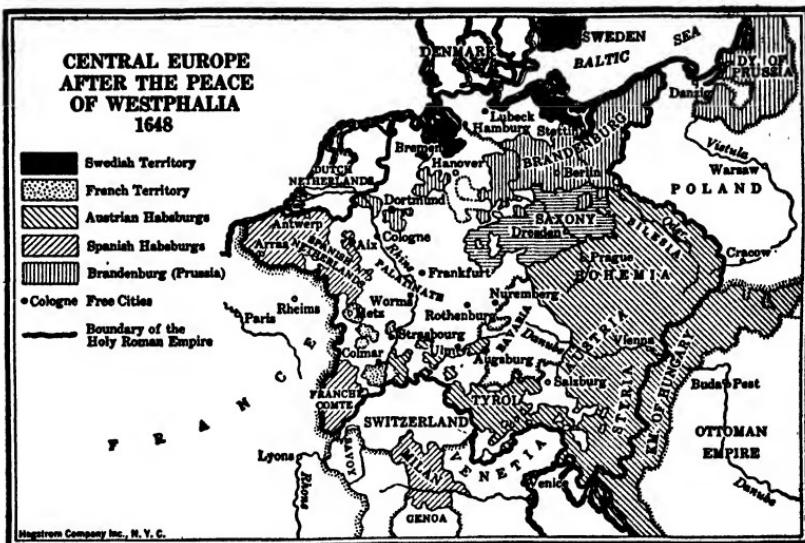
Meanwhile, the fortunes of war had been fluctuating in Germany. For a time the Habsburg emperor, with the aid of Maximilian of Bavaria and other Catholic princes, more than held his own against Protestant Germans and Swedes, but the waning strength of Spain presently enabled the French to send larger and larger forces into Germany against the emperor, with decisive results. Negotiations for a general peace were opened in 1641 by Ferdinand III (who had become emperor on the death of his father, Ferdinand II, in 1637), but they bore no fruit until after the death of Cardinal Richelieu in 1642 and the occupation of Bavaria by the French in 1646. At last, in 1648, by a series of treaties concluded at the towns of Münster and Osnabrück in Westphalia, the Thirty Years' War was terminated and peace was restored within the Holy Roman Empire.

The peace of Westphalia left the Austrian Habsburgs in undisputed possession of their hereditary dominions—Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia—but its political provisions deprived them of any effective control over the Holy Roman Empire and at the same time wrought numerous changes within the empire. (1) Practically, each prince was invested with sovereign authority in his own territory; each prince was free to make peace or war without let or hindrance by the emperor. (2) France obtained Alsace, except the free city of Strasbourg, and was confirmed in the possession of the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun. (3) Sweden received part of Pomerania, controlling the mouth of the Oder, and the secularized bishopric of Bremen, surrounding the city of that name and commanding the mouths of the Elbe and Weser. (4) France and Sweden, thus getting German lands of the Holy Roman Empire, were awarded votes in the imperial diet, with implied right of future intervention in German affairs. (5) Brandenburg secured eastern Pomerania and several bishoprics, including Magdeburg. (6) The Palatinate was divided between Maximilian of Bavaria and the son of the deposed Frederick, and Bavaria, as well as the

The  
Peace of  
West-  
phalia

Palatinate, was henceforth to be an electorate. (7) Switzerland and the United Provinces of the Netherlands (Holland) were formally recognized as free and independent states—Holland, of the Spanish Habsburgs, and Switzerland, of the Austrian Habsburgs.

In addition to its political provisions, the peace of Westphalia contained certain stipulations concerning religion. (1) Calvinists were to share all the privileges of their Lutheran fellow Protestants. (2) Any piece of church property was to be secured to such Catholic or Protestant as held it at the beginning of the year



1624. (3) An equal number of Catholic and Protestant judges were to sit in the imperial courts. Inasmuch as there was relatively little change of religious profession in Germany after 1648, there was general acquiescence in these religious stipulations of the peace of Westphalia.

The era of the Thirty Years' War and of the peace of Westphalia is highly important in the history of modern Europe. The Thirty Years' War itself was the worst but the last of the so-called religious wars. While it began as a fight between Protestants and Catholics, its chief stakes were ever economic and political, and it closed in a major conflict between Habsburg and Bourbon dynasties, both nominally Catholic but both chiefly concerned with statecraft. That a Protestant prince of Brandenburg should

give assistance to the Catholic emperor and that a cardinal of the Roman Church should incite Catholic France to aid German Protestants were clear signs of a noteworthy transfer of interest, in the first half of the seventeenth century, from religious fanaticism to secular ambition. The Thirty Years' War paved a rocky road toward the eventual dawn of religious liberty.<sup>1</sup>

The Thirty Years' War likewise prepared the way for the emergence of the modern state-system of Europe, with its formulated principles of international law and its definite usages of international diplomacy. Modern diplomatic usages had orig-

**Emer-  
gence of  
Modem  
State-  
System of  
Europe** inated among the Italian city states in the fifteenth century and had been adopted early in the sixteenth century by the monarchs of Spain, Portugal, France, England, and other countries for the conduct of inter-state business. Yet the modern state-system could not emerge so long as one European state—the Holy Roman Empire, or the dynastic empire of the Habsburgs—claimed to be, and actually was, superior in power and prestige to all other states. What the Thirty Years' War did in this respect was to reduce both the Holy Roman and the Habsburg empires to a position certainly no higher than that of the national monarchies of France, Sweden, England, and Spain, or that of the Dutch Republic. Indeed, from the negotiations and treaties of Westphalia truly emerged the modern state-system of Europe, based on the novel principle of the essential equality of independent sovereign states, though admitting of the fact that there were great powers as well as lesser powers. Henceforth the public law of Europe was to be made by diplomats and by congresses of ambassadors representing theoretically equal sovereign states. Westphalia pointed the new path.

Another aspect of international relations was emphasized in the first half of the seventeenth century. It was the Thirty Years' War, with its revolting cruelty, which turned the attention of a considerable number of scholars to the need of formulating rules for the protection of non-combatants in time of war, the treatment of the sick and wounded, the prohibition of wanton pillage and other horrors which shocked the awakening humanitarianism of seventeenth-century Europe. The foremost of such scholars was Grotius,

<sup>1</sup> On this point, see below, pp. 512, 518, 527.

whose famous treatise *On the Law of War and Peace* was published in the midst of the Thirty Years' War. Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) was a learned Dutch humanist, whose political activity against the stadholder of Holland and whose agitation for religious toleration against the dominant orthodox Calvinists of his country combined to bring upon him a sentence of life imprisonment. Immured in a Dutch fortress in 1619, he managed to escape and fled to Paris, where he prepared and in 1625 published his great work. It was one of the first of the systematic treatises on modern international law.

Of more immediate significance than the rise of the modern state-system and of modern international law was the terrible havoc—political and especially economic—which the Thirty Years' War wrought in Germany. On the political side, the already shadowy imperial power became a mere phantom, and the resulting disunity of Germany, coupled with the selfishness of her several princes, postponed indefinitely the establishment of a national German state and at the same time invited continuous encroachments by powerful neighbors, particularly Sweden and France. On the economic side, the war left Germany almost a desert. “About two thirds of the total population had disappeared; the misery of those that survived was piteous in the extreme. Five sixths of the villages in the empire had been destroyed. We read of one in the Palatinate that in two years had been plundered eight times. In Saxony packs of wolves roamed about, for in the north quite one third of the land had gone out of cultivation, and trade had drifted into the hands of the French or Dutch. Education had almost disappeared; and the moral decline of the people was seen in the coarsening of manners and the growth of superstition, as witnessed by frequent burning of witches.” We shall revert to the effects of the Thirty Years' War on Germany when we later take up the history of central Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>1</sup>

Havoc  
Wrought  
in  
Germany

The sorry effects of the Thirty Years' War on Germany must not blind our eyes to its disastrous results for Spain. Spain itself, to be sure, was not the scene of major military operations during those thirty years, and hence its fields were not laid waste

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 320-324. On the witchcraft superstition, see above, pp. 210-211, and below, p. 529.

and its towns were not destroyed like Germany's; But Spanish armies bore the brunt of the fighting during all those years, in the Netherlands, in southern Germany, in northern Italy. **Disastrous Results for Spain** To serve the Habsburg cause, the Spanish treasury was emptied and Spanish manhood was bled white. What had appeared in the sixteenth century to be the wealthiest and most virile state in all Europe was now, in 1648, one of the poorest and most helpless.

And what had Philip IV, the Habsburg king of Spain, gained? Faithfully and loyally he had served his kinsmen, the Austrian Habsburgs. But these made peace in 1648 without him, and a peace fairly advantageous to themselves. Austria was less injured than the other German states by the Thirty Years' War, and with her dependencies of Bohemia and Hungary still assured to her, she could continue as a great power in Europe, regardless of what befell the Holy Roman Empire or Germany as a whole. In other words, the head of the Austrian Habsburgs, Ferdinand III, found himself in 1648 with an imperial title which no longer meant much but with a compact group of hereditary states in east-central Europe which promised an eminent position for his family in the future.

Philip IV knew that he had sacrificed a good deal in order to preserve intact the possessions of Ferdinand III, his cousin and brother-in-law. He knew also that France insisted on obtaining some of the Spanish possessions. Why should not Ferdinand prolong the war after 1648 in order that Philip might check France, recover Portugal, and maintain Habsburg prestige in the Spanish inheritance? Ferdinand cynically rejected the pleas of Philip, and Philip, unwilling to agree to the peace of Westphalia except for the recognition of Dutch independence, persevered alone in the struggle against France.

Spain had already been at war thirty years. For another eleven years—from 1648 to 1659—she remained at war. Valiantly the Spanish soldiers fought on; doggedly the Spanish king declined to make concessions. In time, however, the French pressure became unbearable. French generals won victories in the Belgian (Spanish) Netherlands and in northern Spain. French statesmen had an ally in Portugal and by promising to cede the fortress of Dunkirk to England they obtained another ally in Great Britain. At length,

**Continuation of the War between Spain and France**

in 1659, Philip IV bowed to the inevitable and signed with France the treaty of the Pyrenees.

The treaty of the Pyrenees formally registered the end of Spanish predominance in Europe. Its provisions were as favorable to France as they were unfavorable to Spain.

(1) Spain ceded to France the province of Roussillon at the eastern end of the Pyrenees. (2) Spain ceded to France a southern strip of the Belgian Netherlands, including the province of Artois and several fortified towns. (3) Philip IV humbled himself to agree to the marriage of his daughter Maria Theresa to the Bourbon king of France, Louis XIV, who, in consideration of the payment of a large dowry by his Habsburg wife, renounced any further claim to the Spanish dominions. The dowry, it may be noted, was never paid; Spain was too poor.

The  
Treaty of  
the  
Pyrenees

Following the conclusion of peace with France, Philip IV made an attempt to subdue Portugal, but his army was decisively defeated by the Portuguese in 1665. In the year of this crowning defeat, Philip IV died. He left to his infant son, Charles II, an all but ruined Spain. France, not Spain, already held the predominant position among the powers of Europe.



## CHAPTER VI

### THE PREDOMINANCE OF FRANCE

#### I. FRANCE UNDER HENRY IV, RICHELIEU, AND MAZARIN



N the sixteenth century, when Spain was the foremost country of Europe, France was harassed by numerous foreign invasions and by protracted domestic disturbances. Not until 1598, the year of the death of Philip II of Spain, was there a cessation of fighting in France. In that year, the edict of Nantes,<sup>1</sup> by according qualified religious toleration to the Huguenots, promised to establish internal peace, while the treaty of Vervins,<sup>2</sup> concluded in the same year with Spain, freed France from immediate external danger. The French king who achieved these things was the Bourbon Henry IV, and Henry IV it was who laid the foundations for the seventeenth-century predominance of France.

Sorry, indeed, was the plight of France which Henry IV set out to remedy. A century of civil and foreign war had produced most unfortunate consequences for the French state and for the French people. The state was nearly bankrupt. Country districts lay largely uncultivated. Towns were burned or abandoned.

**France under Henry IV** Roads were rough and neglected, and bridges in ruins. Many of the discharged soldiers turned highwaymen, pillaged farmhouses, and robbed travellers. Trade was at a standstill and the artisans of the cities were out of work. During the wars, moreover, great noblemen had taken many rights into their own hands and had acquired a habit of not obeying the king. The French crown seemed to be in danger of losing what power it had gained in the fifteenth century.

That the seventeenth century was to witness not a diminution but a pronounced increase of royal power, not a decline but a startling rise of French prestige, was due in first instance to the

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 204–205.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 258.

statesmanship of Henry IV (1589-1610). Henry IV was strong and vivacious. With his high forehead, sparkling eyes, smiling mouth, and his neatly pointed beard (*Henry quatre*), he was prepossessing in looks, while his affability and simplicity and his constant expression of interest in the welfare of his subjects earned him the appellation of "Good King Henry." His closest companions knew that he was selfish and avaricious, but that his quick decisions were likely to be good and certain to be put in force. Above all, Henry had soldierly qualities and would brook no disloyalty or disobedience.

During his reign, Henry IV was well served by his chief minister, the duke of Sully, an able and loyal Huguenot, though avaricious like the king and subject to furious fits of jealousy and temper. Appointed to the general oversight of financial affairs, Sully made tours of inspection through the country and reformed the royal finances. He forbade provincial governors to raise money on their own authority, removed many abuses of tax-collecting, and by rigorous administration was able between 1600 and 1610 to save an average of a million livres a year. The king zealously upheld Sully's policy of retrenchment; he reduced the subsidies to artists and the grants to favorites, and he retained only a small part of his army, just sufficient to overawe rebellious nobles and to maintain order and security throughout the realm. To promote and preserve universal peace, he even proposed the formation of a world confederation—his so-called "grand design"—which, however, came to nought through the mutual jealousies and rival ambitions of the various European sovereigns. It proved to be much too early to talk convincingly of general pacifism and disarmament.

While domestic peace was being established and provision was being made for immediate financial contingencies, Henry IV and his great minister were both laboring to increase the resources of their country and thereby to promote the prosperity and contentment of the people. Sully believed that the true wealth of the nation lay in farming pursuits and that therefore agriculture should be encouraged, even, if necessary, to the neglect of manufacturing and trade. While the king allowed Sully to cater to the farming interests, he himself encouraged the new commercial classes.

In order to promote agriculture, Sully urged the abolition of interior customs lines and the free circulation of grain, subsidized stock-raising, forbade the destruction of the forests, drained swamps, rebuilt roads and bridges, and planned a vast system of canals. On his side, Henry IV was contributing to the wealth of the middle class. It was he who introduced silk-worms and the mulberry trees, on which they feed, thereby giving impetus to an industry which was to become one of the most important in France. A marked stimulus to the economic development of Paris, Lyons, and Marseilles dates from the reign of Henry IV.

The king likewise encouraged commerce. A French merchant marine was built up by means of royal bounties. A navy was started. Little by little the French began to break in on the commercial monopoly of Spain and to compete for trade on the high seas at first with the Dutch, and subsequently with the English. French trading posts were established in India; and Champlain was despatched to the New World to lay the foundations of a French colonial empire in North America. It was fortunate for France that she had two men like Henry IV and Sully, each supplementing the work of the other.

The assassination of Henry IV by a religious maniac in 1610 threatened for a time to nullify the effects of his labors, for supreme power passed to his widow, Marie de' Medici, an ambitious but incompetent woman, who dismissed Sully and undertook to act as regent for her nine-year-old son, Louis XIII. The queen-regent was surrounded by worthless favorites and was hated by the Huguenots, who feared her rigid Catholicism, and by the great nobles, Catholic and Huguenot alike, who were determined to maintain their privileges and power.

The hard savings of Henry IV were quickly exhausted, and France once more faced a financial crisis. In this emergency **Marie de' Medici and the Estates-General** the estates-general were again convened (1614). Since the accession of Louis XI (1461), the French monarchs with their absolutist tendencies had endeavored to remove this medieval check upon their authority; they had convoked it only in times of public confusion or economic necessity. Had the estates-general really been an effective body in 1614, it might have taken a position similar to that of the seventeenth-century parliament in England and

established constitutional government in France, but its organization and personnel militated against such heroic action. The three estates—clergy, nobles, and commoners (*bourgeois*)—sat separately in as many chambers; the clergy and nobles would neither tax themselves nor coöperate with the third estate; the commoners, many of whom were Huguenots, were disliked by the court, despised by the first and second estates, and quite out of sympathy with the peasants, the bulk of the French nation. It is not surprising, under the circumstances, that the session of 1614 lasted but three weeks and ended as a farce: the queen-regent locked up the halls and sent the representatives home—she needed the room for a dance, she said. It was not until the momentous year of 1789—after a lapse of 175 years—that the estates-general again assembled.

After the fiasco of 1614, affairs went from bad to worse. There was a renewal of internal strife and disorder. Nobles and Huguenots contended among themselves, and both against the court favorites. There was also a reversal of Henry IV's foreign policy. Henry IV had regarded Spain as the chief rival and natural enemy of France; not only had he thwarted the efforts of Philip II to meddle in French affairs,<sup>1</sup> but he had avoided any entangling alliances with the Spanish Habsburgs. Marie de' Medici, on the other hand, was pro-Spanish, because she was dazzled by the apparent might of Spain and because she imagined that Spain would help her to surmount her difficulties in France. She arranged in 1615 the marriage of her youthful son, Louis XIII, with Anne of Austria, the daughter of Philip III of Spain (and sister of the future Philip IV), and she sought ever to harmonize the policies of the French Bourbons with those of the Spanish Habsburgs.

The  
Queen  
Regent's  
Pro-  
Spanish  
Policy

Her obsequiousness to Spain only added to Marie de' Medici's unpopularity in France and occasioned fresh revolts by nobles and Huguenots against her rule. At length, the young king broke with his mother, forced her into retirement, and himself assumed the reins of government. But Louis XIII was always far more interested in music and hunting than in affairs of state, and it is extremely doubtful whether he would have bettered matters, had he not inherited from his

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 254-259.

mother a public servant, Cardinal Richelieu, who possessed the statesmanship and the capacity for hard work which he himself lacked. For eighteen years—from 1624 to 1642—the royal power in France was exercised not so much by Louis XIII as by his famous minister.

Born of a noble family of Poitou, Armand de Richelieu (1585–1642) had been trained for an ecclesiastical career and at the age of twenty-one had been appointed bishop of the small diocese of Luçon. His eloquence and sagacity as spokesman for the clergy in the fatuous estates-general of 1614 attracted the notice of Marie de' Medici, who invited him to court, gave him a seat in the royal council, and secured his nomination as a cardinal of the Roman Church. Subtle and calculating, Richelieu analyzed the evils in France and came to the conclusion that he would be the agent for eradicating them. Always subtle and calculating, he advanced himself in the graces, first of the queen-regent, then of Louis XIII. By 1624 he was the latter's chief advisor—and real master.

"I promise," Richelieu told Louis XIII in 1624, "to devote all my energy and all the authority that it may please you to place in my hands to destroying the Huguenots, abasing the pride of the great nobles, restoring all your subjects to their duty, and raising the name of your majesty among foreign nations to its rightful place." Toward the fulfillment of this promise, the cardinal toiled the next eighteen years with unswerving patriotism and imperious will, with the most delicate diplomacy and all the blandishments of court intrigue, sometimes with sternest and most merciless cruelty. Marie de' Medici opposed him, and he exiled her. Louis XIII never truly liked him, but he overawed the king, and Richelieu's basic loyalty to crown and country was the one transparent quality of a mind otherwise quite inscrutable.

The domestic trouble-makers against whom Richelieu first moved were the Huguenots. Richelieu, though a cardinal of the Roman Church, was more politician and statesman than ecclesiastic; though living in an age of religious fanaticism, he was by no means a bigot. As we have already seen,<sup>1</sup> this Catholic cardinal actually gave military support to Protestants in Germany—for political pur-

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 268–272.

poses. It was similarly for political purposes that he attacked the Protestants in France.

As has already been pointed out,<sup>1</sup> French Protestantism meant an influential political party as well as a religion; it meant a state within the state, a constant source of national disunity and strife. Since Henry IV had issued the edict of Nantes, the Huguenots had had their own assemblies, officers, judges, and even certain fortified towns, all of which interfered with the sovereign authority and impaired that uniformity which thoughtful royalists believed to be the very cornerstone of national monarchy. Richelieu had no desire to deprive the Huguenots of religious freedom, but he was resolved that in political matters they should obey the king. Consequently, when they revolted in 1625, he determined to crush them. In spite of the considerable aid which England endeavored to give them, the Huguenots were entirely subdued. Richelieu's long siege of La Rochelle, lasting nearly fifteen months, showed his forceful resolution. When the rebellion was put down, the edict of Alais was published (1629), leaving to the Protestants freedom of conscience and worship but depriving them of their fortifications and forbidding them to hold political assemblies. Public office was still open to them, and their representatives kept their judicial posts. "The honest Huguenot retained all that he would have been willing to protect with his life, while the factious and turbulent Huguenot was deprived of the means of embarrassing the government."

The repression of the great nobles was a more difficult task, and one which Richelieu undertook in the face of redoubtable opposition. It had long been customary to name noblemen as governors of the various provinces, but the governors had gradually become masters instead of administrators. They commanded detachments of the army; they repeatedly and openly defied the royal will. The country, moreover, was sprinkled with noblemen's castles or *châteaux*, protected by fortifications and armed retainers, standing menaces to internal peace and to the execution of the king's orders. Finally, the noblemen at court, jealous of the cardinal's advancement and spurred on by the intrigues of the disaffected Marie de' Medici or of the king's own brother, the duke of Or-

Richelieu  
and the  
French  
Nobility

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 255-258.

leans, annoyed and hampered the minister at every turn. Of such intolerable conditions, Richelieu determined to be quit.

Into the ranks of noble courtiers, Richelieu struck terror. By means of spies and trickery, he ferreted out conspiracies and arbitrarily put their leaders to death. Every attempt at rebellion was mercilessly punished, no matter how exalted in rank the rebel might be. Richelieu was never moved by entreaties or threats; he was as inexorable as fate itself.

The cardinal did not confine his attention to noblemen at court. As early as 1626 he published an edict ordering the immediate demolition of all fortified castles not needed for defense against foreign invasion. In enforcing this edict, Richelieu found warm supporters among the peasantry and townsfolk who had long suffered from the exactions and depredations of their noble but warlike neighbors. The ruins of many a *château* throughout modern France bear eloquent witness to the cardinal's activity.

Another enduring monument to Richelieu was the centralization of French administration. The great minister was tired of the proud, independent bearing of the noble governors. Without getting rid of them altogether, he checked these proud officials by transferring most of their powers to a new kind of royal officer, the intendant.

*The Centralization of French Administration*  
Appointed by the crown usually from among the intelligent, loyal middle class, each intendant was given charge of a certain district, supervising therein the assessment and collection of royal taxes, the organization of local police or militia, the preservation of order, and the conduct of courts. These intendants, with their wide powers of taxation, police, and justice, were later dubbed, from their approximate number, the "thirty tyrants" of France. But they owed their positions solely to the favor of the crown; they were drawn from a class whose economic interests were long and well served by the royal power; and their loyalty to the king, therefore, could be depended upon. The intendants constantly made reports to, and received orders from, the royal minister at Paris. They were so many eyes, all over the kingdom, for an ever-watchful Richelieu. And in measure as the power of the bourgeois intendants increased, that of the noble governors diminished, until, by the eighteenth century, the offices of the latter had become largely honorary though still richly remunerative.

With the exception of the intendants, Richelieu fashioned no new instruments of government. In form, at least, the French monarchy under him continued to be what it had been for a long time previously and what most other European states still were. Unlike the highly-organized and broadly-functioning state which is usual in the twentieth century, the French monarchy of Richelieu's day was still loosely organized. The king was "absolute" in theory, but his absolutism was exercised in restricted fields and without the aid of an elaborate impersonal "central government." Nor did Richelieu create any such central government. The central government of his time was simply Richelieu acting personally in the name of the king. And for local administration, Richelieu merely superimposed his new intendancies on the traditional provinces, municipalities, villages, parlements, bishoprics, and estates of semi-feudal and semi-royalist France.

Yet there can be no doubt that Richelieu transformed the spirit of government in France. He made it less feudal and more royalist. He adapted existing political machinery to his purpose of exalting the royal authority (as interpreted by himself, the king's agent), of uprooting "divided loyalty" from the realm, and particularly of removing local checks upon royal absolutism in the domains of finance and army. He did not formally abolish the medieval estates-general. But because they had existed primarily to vote taxes, he refused to convoke them and allowed them to become an obsolete institution. The practice of convening them, if continued, might imperil the financial absolutism of the king; and in this respect, the behavior of the English parliament was not reassuring. The local estates, which existed in certain of the French provinces, notably in Brittany, Provence, Burgundy, and Languedoc, Richelieu permitted to go on, but he saw to it that they confined their activity to the mere apportionment of the taxes which the king and he assessed. He did get rid, as we have noticed, of the divisive political power of the Huguenots and the separatist military establishments of the great nobles. He would have but one public treasury in France—the king's. He would have but one armed force in France—the king's. And there would be no accounting by the king for either.

Richelieu's internal policies promoted obedience and unity

**Richelieu's Part in the Thirty Years' War** and paved the way for the assurance of monarchical absolutism in France, at the very time when, across the Channel, England, by means of revolution and bloodshed, was establishing parliamentary government. Simultaneously, while England was precluded by domestic quarrels from taking an active part in Continental affairs, France, under the masterful guidance of Richelieu, was participating effectively in the Thirty Years' War and acquiring a vast international prestige.

Richelieu was both a French patriot and a loyal servant of the Bourbon dynasty. As a French patriot he was anxious to assure to his country an independent and honored place in Europe and especially to weaken Spain, whose dependencies in the Netherlands, in Franche Comté, and in northern Italy all but surrounded France as with a ring of iron. As a loyal servant of Louis XIII, he desired to extend the sway of the Bourbon family at the expense of its principal European rival, the Habsburg family.

It was in this twofold rôle that Cardinal Richelieu directed French foreign policy during the Thirty Years' War against the allied Habsburgs of Austria and Spain. At first he was content to give advice and money to any force that took the field against the Habsburgs—the Protestant princes in Germany, the Swedes, the Dutch. Ultimately, in 1635, when indirect aid to enemies of the Habsburgs proved unavailing, Richelieu caused France to intervene directly in the struggle, and thenceforth until his death he was organizing and despatching one French army after another, now against the Habsburg Holy Roman Empire, and now against the adjacent territories of the Habsburg king of Spain, while simultaneously he was continuing to incite Dutch and Swedes and German Protestants to fresh endeavors against the Habsburg dynasty.<sup>1</sup>

Richelieu did not live to witness the outcome of the Thirty Years' War. He died in 1642, six years before the conclusion of the peace of Westphalia and seventeen years before the signing of the treaty of the Pyrenees with Spain. But he lived long enough to behold the turning of the tide, the passing of military

<sup>1</sup> On the Thirty Years' War, see above, pp. 260-277.

prestige from Spain to France. By 1642, thanks to his efforts and energy, France had a larger and better army than Spain, and, thanks to a group of remarkable young generals whom he had called to service—particularly Turenne and Condé<sup>1</sup>—French forces were wresting Alsace from the Austrian Habsburgs and Roussillon from the Spanish Habsburgs. It was already apparent that whatever political advantage might be gained from the miseries of the Thirty Years' War must accrue primarily to France and the Bourbons—and to the fame of Cardinal Richelieu.

Such in brief was the achievement of the grim cardinal who moved across the stage at a critical period in French history. In person, Richelieu was frail and sickly. Yet his pale drawn face displayed a firm determination and an inflexible will; and when clothed in his red robes, he appeared distinguished and commanding. Unscrupulous, exacting, and without pity, he preserved to the end a proud faith in his moral strength and in his loyalty to king and country.

In 1643, very soon after Richelieu's death, the monarch whom he had served so faithfully and so gloriously followed him to the grave, leaving the Bourbon crown of France to a boy of five years—Louis XIV. Louis XIV was the son of Louis XIII and Anne of Habsburg, and the nephew of Philip IV of Spain.

The  
Minority  
of  
Louis XIV

The minority of Louis XIV might have been disastrous to France and to the royal power, had not the strong policies of Richelieu been maintained by another remarkable minister and cardinal, Mazarin. Mazarin (1602–1661) was an Italian, born near Naples and educated for an ecclesiastical career at Rome and in Spain. In the discharge of several delicate diplomatic missions for the pope, he had acted as nuncio at Paris, where he so ingratiated himself in Richelieu's favor that

Cardinal  
Mazarin

<sup>1</sup> Turenne (1611–1675), the son of a French nobleman and, on his mother's side, the grandson of the great Dutch leader, William the Silent, received his early military training in the Netherlands and entered French service in 1630. He commanded French armies, with noteworthy success, in Alsace, Belgium, northern Italy, and Roussillon, and was made a marshal of France in 1643. He was a Protestant until late in life. Condé (1621–1686), a prince of the royal Bourbon family and known in his youth as the duke d'Enghien, won the decisive French victory at Rocroy in 1643, when he was only twenty-two.

he was invited to enter the service of the king of France, and in 1639 he became a naturalized Frenchman.

Despite his foreign birth and the fact that he never spoke French without a bad accent, he rose rapidly in public office in his adopted country. He was named cardinal and was recognized as Richelieu's disciple and imitator. From the death of the greater cardinal in 1642 to his own death in 1661, Mazarin actually governed France.

Against the Habsburgs of Spain and Austria, Mazarin continued the gigantic struggle which Richelieu had begun, and he brought it to a successful conclusion for France. He Foreign Policy negotiated the peace of Westphalia with the Holy Roman Empire in 1648 and the treaty of the Pyrenees with Spain in 1659. He obtained from the former the cession of Alsace (except Strasbourg) and the recognition of French "rights" on the Rhine and in Germany; he secured from Spain the cession of Roussillon and a strip of the Spanish (Belgian) Netherlands. He thus reaped the harvest which Richelieu had sowed, and he had the satisfaction of knowing that the sun of the Bourbons was rising as that of the Habsburgs was setting. He must have felt a peculiar thrill in extracting from the proud Habsburg king of Spain the pledge that his eldest daughter should marry her hereditary foe, Mazarin's young ward and nominal master, Louis XIV.

In internal affairs, Mazarin encountered grave difficulties. The great nobles had naturally taken umbrage at the vigorous policy which Richelieu had pursued against them and from Domestic Policy which Mazarin gave no sign of departing. They had been unable to resist Richelieu, but against Mazarin they found allies among the patriotic middle class who disliked the Italian cardinal's foreign birth and foreign accent, as well as his avarice, his plundering of the revenues of the realm for the benefit of his own family, and his tricky double-dealing ways.

The result was the Fronde,<sup>1</sup> the last attempt prior to the French Revolution to cast off royal absolutism in France.

The Fronde It represented a vague popular protest, coupled with a selfish reaction on the part of the great nobles. The pretext for it was Mazarin's interference with the parle-

<sup>1</sup> Probably so called from the name of a street game played by Parisian children and often stopped by policemen.

ment of Paris. The Fronde lasted, in an acute form, from 1648 to 1652.

The parlements were judicial bodies<sup>1</sup> which tried important cases and heard appeals from lower courts. That of Paris, being the most eminent, had come, in course of time, to exercise the right of "registering" royal decrees—that is, of receiving the king's edicts in formal fashion and entering them upon the statute books so that the law of the land might be known generally. From making such a claim, it was only a step for the parlement of Paris to refuse to register certain new edicts on the ground that the king was not well informed or that they were in conflict with older and more binding enactments. If these claims were substantiated, the royal will would be subjected to revision by the parlement of Paris. To prevent their substantiation, both Louis XIII and Louis XIV held "beds of justice"—that is, appeared in person before the parlement, and from their seat of cushions and pillows declared their will regarding the new edict and directed that it be promulgated. There were amusing scenes when the boy-king, at the direction of Mazarin, gave orders in his shrill treble to the learned lawyers and grave old judges.

Spurred on by seeming popular sympathy and no doubt by the contemporaneous political revolution in England,<sup>2</sup> the parlement of Paris in 1648 defied Mazarin (and the young king). It proclaimed its immunity from royal control; declared the illegality of any public tax which it had not freely and expressly authorized; ordered the abolition of the office of intendant; and protested against arbitrary arrest or imprisonment. To these demands, the people of Paris gave support; barricades were erected in the streets, and Mazarin, whose loyal army was still fighting in Germany, was obliged temporarily to recognize the new order. Within six months, however, sufficient troops had been collected to enable him to overawe Paris and to annul his concessions.

Nevertheless, the Fronde continued for several years during the ministry of Mazarin to inspire spasmodic plots and uprisings. For a time, Turenne sympathized with the movement, though in the end he gave strong military support to Mazarin and the royal cause. On the other hand, the great Condé, who with

<sup>1</sup> There were thirteen in the seventeenth century.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 438-446.

## HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE

Condé shared the chief glory of French arms in the Thirty Years' War, rebelled openly against the Cardinalists, as Mazarin's party was called, and joined the Spaniards in their war against France. Condé returned to French service only with the utter collapse of the Fronde and the termination of Franco-Spanish hostilities in 1659.

The upshot of the Fronde was: (1) the great nobles were more discredited than ever; (2) the parlement was forbidden to devote attention to political or financial affairs; (3) Paris was disarmed and lost the right of electing its own municipal officers; (4) the royal authority was even stronger than under Richelieu because an unsuccessful attempt had been made to weaken it. Henry IV, Richelieu, and Mazarin had made straight the way for the royal despotism of Louis XIV.

### 2. THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV

Upon the death of Cardinal Mazarin in 1661, the young king, Louis XIV, declared that he would assume personal charge of the domestic and foreign affairs of the French monarchy. From that date, throughout a long reign, Louis was in fact as well as in name ruler of the nation.

Louis XIV profited by the earlier work of Henry IV, Sully, Richelieu, and Mazarin. He inherited a comparatively prosperous state, the population of which was patriotic and loyal to the crown. Insurrections of Protestants and rebellions of great nobles were things of the past. The estates-general, the medieval form of representative government, had fallen into disuse and oblivion. Local administration was conducted by faithful middle-class officials, the intendants.

Abroad, the rival Habsburgs had been humbled and French boundaries had been extended and French prestige heightened. Everything was in readiness for a great king to inaugurate a new era in European history.

Louis XIV was a great king—the “grand monarch,” he was designated alike by his contemporaries and by posterity.   
**The Grand Monarch** endowed with a superb constitution, a fund of common sense, and a cautious judgment, and marked by suavity, dignity, and elegance in manners and speech, he looked and acted like a king. Indeed, so great was the impression which he made upon France and upon Europe that the

## THE PREDOMINANCE OF FRANCE

period of his reign—approximately the second half of the seventeenth century—has ever since been styled the “age of Louis XIV.”

The age of Louis XIV was famous, first of all, for the crystallizing of the doctrine of royal absolutism. The theory of government which Louis held and acted upon was nicely stated and brilliantly elaborated, fairly early in his personal reign, by a learned French bishop, the celebrated Bossuet (1627-1704), whom the king employed as mentor for his son and heir. Government, according to Bossuet, is divinely ordained in order that men may satisfy the God-given natural instincts of living together in organized political society. Under God, monarchy is, of all forms of government, the most usual and the most ancient, and therefore the most natural. It is likewise the strongest and most efficient, therefore the best. It is analogous to the rule of a family by the father, and, like that rule, should be hereditary. Four qualities are referred by the eloquent bishop to such an hereditary monarch.

(1) He is sacred, because he is anointed at the time of coronation by the priests of the church, and hence it is blasphemy and sacrilege to assail the person of the king or to conspire against him. (2) He is, in a very real sense, the father of his people, the paternal king, and therefore it belongs to him to provide for the welfare of the nation. (3) His power is absolute and autocratic, and for its exercise he is accountable to God alone; no man on earth may rightfully resist the royal commands, and the only recourse for subjects against an evil king is to pray God that his heart be changed. (4) Greater reason is given to a king than to anyone else; the king is an earthly image of God's majesty, and it is wrong, therefore, to look upon him as a mere man. The king is a public person and in him the whole nation is embodied. “As in God are united all perfection and every virtue, so all the power of all the individuals in a community is united in the person of the king.”

Doctrine  
of Royal  
Absolu-  
tism

Such was Louis XIV's theory of absolutist divine-right monarchy. The theory had gradually been taking shape and gaining ground during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in various countries of Europe (including England),<sup>1</sup> but the fact that it was exemplified in the second half of the seventeenth century

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. 2, pp. 428-429.

by such an impressive monarch as Louis XIV served to convince the mass of Frenchmen—and other Europeans too—of the substantial truth and validity of the theory. Thanks to Louis XIV, France acquiesced in the doctrine; thanks to the new predominance of France in Europe, other Continental peoples imitated the French and endorsed the principle of divine-right monarchical absolutism. The age of Louis XIV thus sanctioned a political principle which was to dominate most of Europe for a century and until the French Revolution.

Another, and very important, political achievement of the age of Louis XIV was the inauguration of a real organized system of central government and administration. Here Louis himself took the lead. Instead of entrusting sole power to a Richelieu or a Mazarin to be exercised to such an extent and through such channels as a masterful minister could personally exercise it, the king proceeded to organize a number of ministries (finance, army, navy, public works, etc.) whose heads should be his servants rather than his masters. The king would determine all policies; the ministers would simply execute his will. The ministers would function somewhat impersonally through a staff of assistants and secretaries at the capital and through the intendants, royal governors, parlements, and other officials in the provinces, but they would report regularly to the king and would take no independent action without his express approval. Local officials, whether bourgeois intendants or noble governors, would be appointed by the king and would be brought, through the central ministries, into close and direct subjection to him.

For twenty or thirty years after his assumption of personal rule, Louis XIV was busily engaged in fashioning this new system of government. It was perhaps the most distinctive achievement of his reign, and it was peculiarly his own creation. He alone had the vision, the ambition, and the energy necessary to accomplish the very arduous task of transforming his realm from a congeries of semi-feudal principalities into an orderly centralized state. He worked hard at the task. "One reigns by work and for work," he said. Day after day he reviewed the details of administration. Over all things and all officials he kept a watchful eye. Methodically he practiced what he termed the "trade of a king." By 1685 his application to his "trade" was pro-

## THE PREDOMINANCE OF FRANCE

ducing obvious results, one of the chief of which was the fact that the French state of 1685 was thoroughly orderly and one to which foreigners looked as a model of royal centralization. Foreign monarchs especially envied the almost godlike majesty of the French king.

For Louis XIV was not content with hard work as God's lieutenant on earth. He must have the fame, the glory, the majesty—even the temple—befitting his divinity. The temple to himself—the crowning glory of his majesty—was the palace which he erected at Versailles, in the midst of what had been a sandy waste, some twelve miles from Paris. The stately palace, with its lavish furnishings and its broad parks and great groves and myriad statues and delightful fountains, was the wonder of France and Europe; the magnificent "Hall of Mirrors" was a perfect symbol of the "Grand Monarch."

In and about the palace of Versailles, Louis XIV gathered the court of France—his ministers, his central officialdom, his family, his mistresses, and his pick of French nobles and French artists—and he prescribed for all these a most rigid ceremonial, as would become the worshippers of his divinity. He was particularly anxious that the nobles should pay due homage to him. He had shorn them of real political power in the provinces but he made a kind of reparation to them by summoning them to bask in the light of his presence and to play leading rôles in the social pageant at Versailles. He must have persons of noble birth as valets-de-chambre for himself and his progeny and as masters of the wardrobe, of the table, of the chase, and of the revels. Only a nobleman was worthy to comb the royal hair or to dry off the king after a bath. Only nobles could vie with the crystal chandeliers in providing decorative lustre for the palace of the "Grand Monarch."

Louis XIV was a patron of the arts—architecture, sculpture, painting, engraving, music, literature. A galaxy of artists he patronized and subsidized, and many of them graced the court of Versailles and dedicated their talents to the beautifying of the royal setting. J. H. Mansart, the architect, built the greater part of the main palace as well as the Grand Trianon at Versailles and designed the dome of the Invalides at Paris. Girardon was official sculptor, and Le

The  
Majesty of  
Versailles

The  
Golden  
Age of  
French  
Art

## HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE

Brun official painter, to Louis XIV. Lully, official musician, composed operas and ballets for the court. Even cooking became a fine art under Louis XIV; Vatel, a master chef, committed suicide over the artistic failure of one of his dishes.

The age of Louis XIV was a golden era for French literature. Among the host of celebrated literary persons whom the king applauded and attracted to Versailles were Corneille, the father of the French theatre; Molière, the greatest of French dramatists; Racine, the author of infinitely polished plays; Madame de Sévigné, the composer of brilliant witty memoirs; La Fontaine, the rhymer of whimsical fables and teller of scandalous tales; Bossuet, the preacher, historian, and philosopher. Backed by the merit of these writers and by the international prestige of the king whom they served, the French language became, before the close of the seventeenth century, the language both of polite society and of diplomacy all over Europe. Not only French political principles and practices, but French speech and literature and French manners, dress, and art were adopted as the models and property of civilized Europe. This was a highly significant aspect of the new French predominance.

French predominance itself was the outcome in no small degree of the success which, at least until 1685, attended the domestic and foreign policies of Louis XIV. By virtue of his domestic policy, not only was France consolidated politically, but she was enriched economically and thereby enabled to give substance to the reputation of the "Grand Monarch." Simultaneously, by virtue of his foreign policy, France was not only safeguarded against invasion but exalted to a commanding position in the warfare and diplomacy of Europe.

In his domestic policy, Louis XIV had the assistance of an extraordinarily talented minister, Colbert. Colbert (1619-1683)

**Colbert and Economic Policies** was the son of a merchant and was intensely interested in the middle class to which he belonged. Installed in office through the favor of Mazarin, he was successively named by Louis XIV, after the cardinal's death, superintendent of public works, controller-general of finances, minister of marine, of commerce and agriculture, and of the colonies. In short, until his death in 1683, Colbert exerted power in

## THE PREDOMINANCE OF FRANCE

every department of government except that of war. Although he never possessed the irresponsible personal authority which marked the ministries of Richelieu and Mazarin, and was plainly subservient to the king's commands, nevertheless he enjoyed for many years the royal confidence and by incessant toil succeeded in accomplishing a good deal for the material well-being of France.

First, financial reform claimed the energies of Colbert. Under the government of Richelieu, and more particularly under that of Mazarin, public expenditures had been enormously increased, the noble class had been largely exempted from taxation, and the weight of the financial burden had been put upon the lower classes, while an evil system of tax-gathering, called "farming the taxes,"<sup>1</sup> had grown up. Colbert sternly and fearlessly set about his task. He appointed fiscal agents whose honesty he could trust and he reformed many of the abuses in tax-collecting. While he was unable to impose the direct land tax—the *taille*—upon the privileged nobility, he stoutly resisted every attempt to augment the number of exemptions, and actually lowered this direct tax upon the peasantry by substituting indirect taxes, or customs duties, which would affect nobles and clergymen as well as commoners. To lighten the burden of the country-folk, he sought to promote agriculture. He provided that no farmers' tools might be seized for debt. He encouraged the breeding of horses and cattle. He improved the roads and other means of interior communication. The great canal of Languedoc, joining the Mediterranean with the Garonne River and thence with the Atlantic, was planned and constructed under his patronage. As far as possible, the duties on the passage of agricultural produce from province to province were equalized.

In forwarding what he believed to be his own class interests, Colbert was especially zealous. Manufactures and commerce were fostered in every way he could devise. New industries were established, inventors protected, workmen invited from foreign

<sup>1</sup> "Farming the taxes," that is, entrusting the collection of taxes to individuals or corporations that squeezed as much money as they could from the taxpayers and kept for themselves what they collected over and above the lump sum due the government.

countries, native workmen forbidden to leave France. A heavy tariff was placed upon foreign imports in order to protect "infant industries," and to profit French manufacturers and traders. Liberal bounties were granted to French ships engaged in commerce, and foreign ships were compelled to pay heavy tonnage duties for using French ports. And along with the protective tariff and the subsidizing of the merchant marine went other pet policies of mercantilism,<sup>1</sup> such as measures to prevent the exportation of precious metals from France, to encourage corporations and monopolies, and to extend governmental supervision over the manufacture, quality, quantity, and sale of commodities.

Stimulation of industry and commerce seemed to Colbert to involve the creation of a protecting navy. He accordingly reconstructed the docks and arsenal of Toulon and established shipyards at Rochefort, Calais, Brest, and Havre. He fitted out a royal navy that in size and strength could compare favorably with the navy of Spain or England or Holland. To supply it with recruits, he drafted seamen from the maritime provinces and resorted to the use of criminals, who were often chained to the galleys like so many slaves of the new industry.

Likewise, the adoption of the mercantile policy seemed to demand the acquisition of a colonial empire, in which the mother-country should enjoy a trade-monopoly. So Colbert became a vigorous colonial minister. He purchased Martinique and Guadeloupe in the West Indies, encouraged settlements in San Domingo, in Canada, and in Louisiana, and set up important posts in India, in Senegal, and in Madagascar. France, under Colbert, became a serious colonial competitor with her older European rivals.<sup>2</sup>

Colbert was essentially a financier and economist. But to the arts of peace, which adorned the reign of Louis XIV, he was a noteworthy contributor. He strengthened the French Academy, which had been founded by Richelieu, and himself established the Academy of Sciences, now called the Institute of France; he also built the great astronomical observatory at Paris and purchased for Louis XIV the celebrated tapestry factory of the Gobelins. He pensioned many writers, and attracted foreign

<sup>1</sup> On mercantilism, see above, pp. 92-94.

<sup>2</sup> On the French colonial empire, see below, pp. 390-391, 395-401.

artists and scientists to France.<sup>1</sup> Many buildings and triumphal arches were erected under his auspices.

In his foreign policy, Louis XIV relied upon diplomacy and arms. He himself was not a soldier. He never appeared in military uniform or rode at the head of his troops. He knew little of military science. What he lacked, however, of technical knowledge of warfare, he compensated for in wise choice of war ministers and military commanders. Thus in Louvois (1641-1691) he possessed a great minister, as capable of directing military affairs as Colbert was of superintending economic matters.

Military  
Policy,  
and  
Louvois

Louvois was indeed one of the greatest war ministers that the world has ever seen. He recruited and supported the largest and finest standing army of his day. He introduced severe regulations and strict discipline. He prescribed a distinctive military uniform, and he inaugurated regular drill and the custom of marching in step. Under his supervision, camp life was placed upon a sanitary basis; and under his influence, promotion in the service no longer depended exclusively on social position but upon merit as well.

In addition to such an extraordinary military organizer and administrator as Louvois, Louis XIV could count upon several highly competent generals and engineers. Among his generals were Condé and Turenne, who had won deservedly high reputations in the Thirty Years' War and who were thoroughly devoted to him and his policies. Chief among the engineers was Vauban, a master of defensive warfare and the builder of superb fortifications on the northern and eastern frontiers of France.

Louis XIV was personally one of the greatest diplomats of his age, and with Colbert furnishing him with copious funds and Louvois supplying him with a redoubtable army, he was in a position to prosecute an effective foreign policy. This policy, in line with the traditional foreign policy of French kings since the time of Francis I, had for its goal the humiliation of the powerful Habsburgs, whether of Spain or of Austria. Although France had gained materially at their expense in the treaties of Westphalia and the Pyrenees,<sup>1</sup> much remained to be done by Louis XIV. When the Grand Monarch assumed personal control of affairs in 1661, the Spanish

The  
Foreign  
Policy of  
Louis XIV

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 272, 277.

## HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE

The Bourbons still ruled not only the peninsular kingdom south of France, but the Belgian Netherlands to the north, Franche Comté to the east, and Milan in northern Italy, while their kinsmen of Austria maintained shadowy imperial government over the rich Rhenish provinces on the northeastern boundary of France. France was still almost completely encircled by Habsburg holdings.

To justify his subsequent aggressions, Louis XIV stressed the doctrine of "natural boundaries." Every country, he maintained, should secure such frontiers as nature had obviously provided—mountains, lakes, or rivers; and France was naturally provided with the frontiers of ancient Gaul—the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Rhine River, and the ocean. Any foreign monarch or state that claimed power within such frontiers was an interloper and should be expelled.

For many years, and in three wars, Louis XIV endeavored, with some success, to reach the Rhine. These three wars—the War of Devolution, the Dutch War, and the War of the League of Augsburg—we shall now discuss. A fourth great war, directed toward the acquisition of the Spanish throne by the Bourbon family, will be treated in the following section.

The War of Devolution was an attempt of Louis to gain the Spanish (Belgian) Netherlands. It will be remembered that in accordance with the peace of the Pyrenees, Louis had married Maria Theresa, the eldest daughter of Philip IV of Spain. Now Philip IV, by a subsequent

marriage, had had a son, a weak-bodied, half-witted prince, who came to the Spanish throne in 1665 as Charles II. Louis XIV at once took advantage of this turn of affairs to assert in behalf of his wife a claim to a portion of the Spanish inheritance. The claim was based on a curious custom which had prevailed in the inheritance of private property in the Netherlands, to the effect that children of a first marriage should inherit to the exclusion of those of a subsequent marriage. Louis insisted that this custom, called "devolution," should be applied not only to private property but also to sovereignty and that his wife should be recognized, therefore, as sovereign of the Belgian Netherlands. In reality the claim was a pure invention, but the French king thought it would be a sufficient apology for the robbery of a weak brother-in-law.

## THE PREDOMINANCE OF FRANCE

Before opening hostilities, Louis XIV made use of his matic wiles in order to guard himself against assistance other states might render to Spain. In the first place, he tained promises of friendly neutrality from Holland, Sweden, and the Protestant states of Germany, which had been allied with France during the Thirty Years' War. In the second place, he threatened to stir up another civil war in the Holy Roman Empire if the Austrian Habsburgs should help their Spanish kinsman.<sup>1</sup> Finally, he had no fear of England because that country was in the midst of a peculiarly bitter trade war with the Dutch.<sup>2</sup>

The War of Devolution lasted from 1667 to 1668. The well-disciplined and splendidly generalised armies of Louis XIV had no difficulty in occupying the border fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands. The whole territory would undoubtedly have fallen to France, had not a change unexpectedly occurred in international relations. The trade war between England and Holland came to a speedy end, and the two former rivals joined with Sweden in forming a Triple Alliance to arrest the war and to put a stop to the French advance. The "balance of power" demanded, said the allies, that the other European states should combine in order to prevent any one state from becoming too powerful. This plea for the "balance of power" was the reply to the French king's plea for "natural boundaries."

The threats of the Triple Alliance caused Louis XIV to negotiate the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, by which Spain, while retaining the greater part of the Belgian Netherlands, surrendered to France an important section, including the fortified cities of Charleroi, Tournai, and Lille. The taste of the Grand Monarch was thereby whetted, but his appetite was hardly appeased.

Louis blamed the Dutch for his rebuff. He was thoroughly alive to the fact that Holland would never take kindly to having powerful France as a near neighbor, and that French acquisition of the Belgian Netherlands, therefore, <sup>The</sup> ~~Dutch~~ <sup>War</sup> would always be opposed by the Dutch. Nor were wounded vanity and political considerations the only motives

<sup>1</sup> Leopold I had succeeded his father, Ferdinand III, as Habsburg ruler of Austria and Holy Roman Emperor in 1658. Leopold's mother was a sister of Philip IV of Spain, and his wife was a sister of Charles II of Spain. Leopold reigned from 1658 to 1705.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 394-395.

for the Grand Monarch's second war, that against the Dutch. France, as well as England, was becoming a commercial and colonial rival of Holland, and it seemed both to Louis XIV and to Colbert that the French middle class would be greatly benefited by breaking the trade monopolies of the Dutch. Louis's second war was quite as much a trade war as a political conflict.

First, Louis sought to break up the Triple Alliance and isolate Holland. He took advantage of the political situation in England to arrange (1670) the secret treaty of Dover with Charles II, the king of that country and his own cousin. In return for a large pension, which should free him from reliance upon parliament, the English king undertook to declare himself a Catholic and to withdraw from the Triple Alliance. Liberal pensions likewise bought off the Swedish government. Wherefore it seemed as if Holland, alone and friendless, would have to endure a war with her powerful enemy. Nor was Holland in shape for a successful resistance. Ever since she had gained formal recognition of her independence (1648), she had been torn by civil strife. On one side, the head of the Orange family, who bore the title of stadholder, supported by the country districts, the nobles, the Calvinistic clergy, and the peasantry, hoped to consolidate the state and to establish an hereditary monarchy. On the other side, the aristocratic burghers and religious liberals, the townsfolk generally, found an able leader in the celebrated Grand Pensionary, John DeWitt (1625-1672), who sought to preserve the republic and the rights of the several provinces. For over twenty years, the latter party was in power, but as the young prince of Orange, William III, grew to maturity, signs were not lacking of a reaction in favor of his party.

Under these circumstances, Louis XIV declared war against Holland in 1672. French troops at once occupied Lorraine on the pretext that its duke was plotting with the Dutch, and proceeding down the Rhine, past Cologne, invaded Holland and threatened the prosperous city of Amsterdam. The Dutch people, in a frenzy of despair, murdered John DeWitt, whom they unjustly blamed for their reverses; and, at the order of the young William III, who assumed supreme command, they cut the dykes and flooded a large part of northern Holland. The same expedient which had enabled them to expel the Spaniards

in the War of Independence now stayed the victorious advance of the French.

The refusal of Louis XIV to accept the advantageous terms of peace offered by the Dutch aroused general apprehension throughout Europe. The Empérator Leopold and the Great Elector of Brandenburg made an offensive alliance with Holland, which subsequently was joined by Spain and several German states. The general struggle, thus precipitated, continued indeed with success for France. Turenne, by a brilliant victory, compelled the Great Elector to make peace. The emperor was defeated. The war was carried into the Spanish Netherlands and Franche Comté.

But when at length the English parliament compelled Charles II to adhere to the general anti-French alliance, Louis XIV thought it was time to make peace. As events proved, it was not Holland but Spain that had to pay the penalties of Louis's second war. By the treaty of Nimwegen, the former lost nothing, while the latter ceded to France the long-coveted province of Franche Comté and several strong fortresses in the Belgian Netherlands. France, moreover, continued to occupy the duchy of Lorraine.

Thus, if Louis XIV had failed to penalize the Dutch, he had at least succeeded in extending the French frontiers one stage nearer the Rhine. He had become the greatest and most-feared monarch in Europe. Yet for these gains France paid heavily. The border provinces had been wasted by war. The treasury was empty, and the necessity of negotiating loans and increasing taxes put Colbert in despair. Turenne, the best general, had been killed late in the contest, and Condé, on account of ill health, was obliged to withdraw from active service.

Yet at the darker side of the picture, the Grand Monarch refused to look. No sooner was the Dutch War concluded than Louis XIV set out, by a policy of trickery and diplomacy, further to augment the French territories. The "Cham-  
cessions, which the treaties of Westphalia and Nim-  
wegen guaranteed to France, had been made "with  
their dependencies." It now occurred to Louis that doubtless  
in the old feudal days of the middle ages or early modern times  
some, if not all, of his new acquisitions had possessed feudal  
suzerainty over other towns or territories not yet incorporated  
into France. Although in most cases such earlier feudal ties

The  
"Cham-  
bers of  
Reunion"

## HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE

had practically lapsed by the close of the seventeenth century, nevertheless the French king decided to reinvoke them in order, if possible, to add to his holdings. He accordingly constituted special courts, called "chambers of réunion," composed of his own obedient judges, who were to decide what districts by right of feudal usage should be annexed. So painstaking and minute were the investigations of these chambers of reunion that they adjudged to their own country, France, no less than twenty important towns of the Holy Roman Empire, including Luxembourg and Strasbourg. Nothing seemed to prevent the prompt execution of these judgments by the French king. He had kept his army on a war footing. The king of England was again in his pay and his alliance. The emperor was hard pressed by a war with the Ottoman Turks.<sup>1</sup> Armed imperial resistance at Strasbourg was quickly overcome (1681), and Vauban, the great engineer, proceeded to make that city the chief French fortress upon the Rhine. A weak effort of the Spanish monarch to protect Luxembourg from French aggression failed (1684).

Alarmed by the steady advance of French power, the Emperor Leopold in 1686 succeeded in forming a league (called the League of Augsburg) with Spain, Sweden, and several German princes, in order to preserve the territorial integrity of the Holy Roman Empire. Nor was it long before the League of Augsburg was called upon to resist further encroachments of the French king. In 1688 Louis despatched a large army into the Rhenish Palatinate to enforce a preposterous claim which he had advanced to that valuable district. The war which resulted was Louis's third struggle, and has been variously styled the War of the League of Augsburg or the War of the Palatinate. In America, it was paralleled by a conflict between French and English colonists, known as King William's War.

In his first two wars, Louis XIV could count upon the neutrality, if not the friendly aid, of England, whose king was dependent upon him for financial support in maintaining an absolutist government, and whose influential trading classes, still suffering more from Dutch than from French rivalry, displayed no anxiety to mix unduly in the dynastic conflict on the Continent. Louis had an idea that

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 326.

he could count upon the continuation of the same English policy; he was certainly on good terms with the English king, James II. (1685-1688). But the deciding factor in England and in the war proved to be not the subservient James II but the implacable William III. This William III,<sup>1</sup> as stadholder of Holland, had long been a stubborn opponent of Louis XIV on the Continent; he had repeatedly displayed his ability as a warrior and as a cool, crafty schemer. Through his marriage with the princess Mary, elder daughter of James II, he now managed adroitly to ingratiate himself with the Protestant, parliamentary, and commercial parties in England that were opposing the Catholic and absolutist policies of James.

We shall presently see that the English Revolution of 1688, which drove James II into exile, was a decisive step in the establishment of constitutional government in England.<sup>2</sup> It was likewise of supreme importance in its effects upon the foreign policy of Louis XIV, for it called to the English throne the son-in-law of James, William III, the stadholder of Holland and arch enemy of the French king.

England, under the guidance of her new sovereign, promptly joined the League of Augsburg, and declared war against France. Trade rivalries between Holland and England were in large part composed, and the colonial empires of the two states, now united under a joint ruler, naturally came into conflict with the colonial empire of France. Thus, in addition to the difficulties which the Bourbons encountered in promoting their dynastic interests on the Continent of Europe, they were henceforth confronted by a vast colonial and commercial struggle with England. It was the beginning of a protracted struggle for the mastery of India and America.

Louis XIV never seemed to appreciate the importance of the colonial and commercial side of the contest. He was too much engrossed in his ambition of stretching French boundaries to the Rhine. So in discussing the War of the League of Augsburg as well as the subsequent War of the Spanish Succession, we shall devote our attention in this chapter primarily to the European and dynastic elements, reserving the account of the parallel colonial struggle to a later chapter.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> William III (1650-1702), Dutch stadholder in 1672 and British king in 1689.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 452-453.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 402.

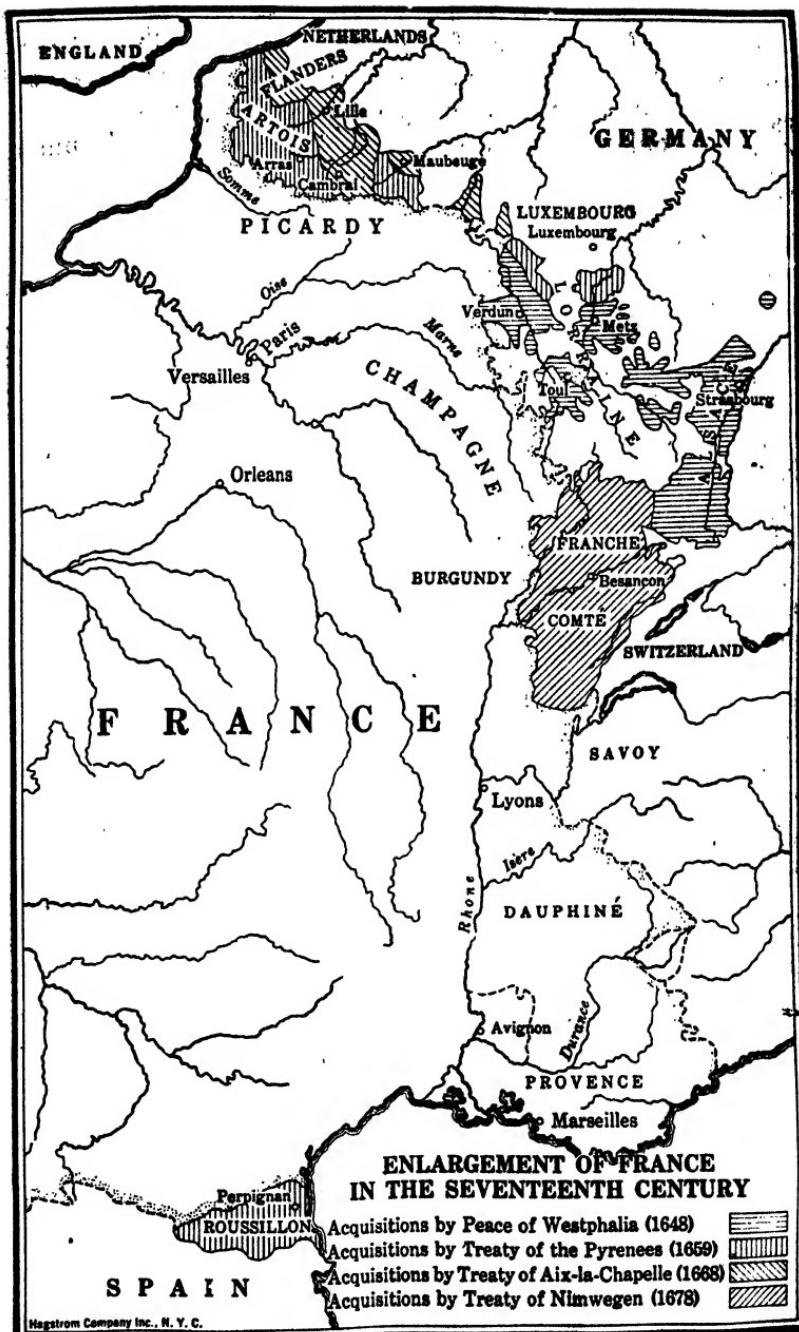
The War of the League of Augsburg, Louis's third war, lasted from 1689 to 1697. Notwithstanding the loss of Turenne and Condé, the splendidly organized French armies were able to hold the allies at bay and to save their country from invasion. They even won several victories on the frontier. But on the sea, the struggle was less successful for Louis, and a French expedition to Ireland in favor of James II proved disastrous. After many years of strife, ruinous to all the combatants, the Grand Monarch sued for peace.

By the treaty of Ryswick, which concluded the War of the League of Augsburg, Louis XIV (1) surrendered nearly all the places adjudged to him by the chambers of reunion, except Strasbourg; (2) allowed the Dutch to garrison the chief fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands as a "barrier" against French aggression; (3) granted the Dutch a favorable commercial treaty; (4) restored Lorraine to its duke; (5) abandoned his claim to the Palatinate; (6) acknowledged William III as king of England and promised to support no attempt against his throne. Thus, the French king lost no territory. On the other hand, he obtained full recognition of his ownership of the whole province of Alsace. And it had required a forceful union of most of the great powers of Europe to check Louis XIV and to halt the expansion of France.

When Louis XIV signed the treaty of Ryswick in 1697, he was in his sixtieth year, and he could look back with great satisfaction upon his achievements during the thirty-six years which had elapsed since his assumption of personal rule in France. He had consolidated his country and given it an orderly, broadly functioning central government. He had extended his sway to the Pyrenees and (in Alsace) to the Rhine, and had acquired Franche Comté and important cities in the Belgian Netherlands. France had clearly supplanted Spain as the predominant power in Europe; the Bourbon family had obviously become the peer of the Habsburgs; and, thanks to the new supremacy of French art and culture, as well as of French arms, the second half of the seventeenth century was already styled, quite appropriately, the age of Louis XIV.

### 3. SEEING BOURBON ASCENDANCY

As Louis XIV grew older, he grew vainer and more ambitious. He was puffed up with pride by his unquestioned authority in



### ENLARGEMENT OF FRANCE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Acquisitions by Peace of Westphalia (1648)

Acquisitions by Treaty of the Pyrenees (1659)

Acquisitions by Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1668)

Acquisitions by Treaty of Nijmegen (1678)

France, by the majesty of his surroundings at Versailles, by the obsequious bearing of his ministers and courtiers. He was especially conceited about his successes in diplomacy and war. Like many another ambitious ruler, he forgot or obscured the economic grievances and social discontent of his subjects in a blaze of foreign glory—in the splendor of ambassadors, the glint and din of arms, the grim shedding of human blood. Having picked the sanguinary path and found pleasure therein, the Grand Monarch pursued it to an end which, while assuring temporary ascendancy to his family, wrought eventual tragedy to his people.

By 1697 Louis XIV was not content to labor for the French monarchy. He must use the strength and prestige of France for the dynastic ascendancy of the Bourbons in Europe. It was no longer a matter simply of securing the "natural frontiers" of France; it was a matter now of constructing a dynastic empire, of which France should be the core, but which should assure to the Bourbon family the direction of as many dominions as the Habsburg family had ever ruled.

Indeed, one of the main reasons which prompted Louis XIV to conclude the War of the League of Augsburg without obtaining the Rhine boundary for France was his mounting ambition to effect the transfer of the Spanish dynastic empire from the Habsburgs to the Bourbons. Spain itself was still accounted a great power, and under its Habsburg crown were gathered not only the peninsular kingdoms of Castile and Aragon but the greater part of the Belgian Netherlands, the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, the island of Sardinia, the duchy of Milan, and the huge colonial possessions in America and the Philippines. The sovereign of all these diverse lands, while Louis was exercising personal rule in France, had been Charles II. Charles, of course, was a Habsburg; he was the son of Philip IV of Spain, and the grandson, on his mother's side, of Ferdinand III of Austria. But he was also related to the Bourbons; his aunt was the mother of Louis XIV, and his half-sister was Louis XIV's wife.

Despite his proud ancestry, Charles II of Spain from birth had been sickly and almost imbecile, and by 1697 he was far gone in physical and mental decay. What would become of his realms?

He had no children and no brothers. His nearest male heir was Leopold I, Holy Roman Emperor and head of the Austrian Habsburgs. But his nearest (and most mighty) neighbor was Louis XIV. And the little wit of Charles II was torn between his wish to transmit his inheritance to "the illustrious house of Austria," his own kin, and the belief instilled into him by French agents that only the power of Louis XIV could avert the dismemberment of the Spanish empire. Adding to the perplexity of the unhappy Charles, was the fact that while one of his sisters was the wife of Louis XIV, the other was married to Leopold. The question of the Spanish succession was terribly difficult, not only for Charles, but for all Europe.

It will be recalled that by the treaty of the Pyrenees (1659) Louis XIV had renounced Bourbon claims to the Spanish succession on condition that a large dowry be paid him, but the impoverished state of the Spanish exchequer had prevented the payment of the dowry. Louis, therefore, might lay claim to the whole inheritance of Charles II and entertain the hope of seeing the Bourbons supplant the Habsburgs in some of the fairest lands of Christendom. In opposition to the French contention, the Emperor Leopold was properly moved by family pride to put forth the claim of his wife and that of himself as the nearest male relative of the Spanish king. If the contention of Leopold were sustained, a single Habsburg ruler might once more unite an empire as vast as that which the Emperor Charles V had once ruled. On the other side, if the ambition of Louis XIV were realized, a new and formidable Bourbon empire would be erected. In either case the European "balance of power" would be destroyed.

Bound up with the political problem in Europe were grave commercial and colonial questions. According to the mercantilist theories that flourished throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, every country which possessed colonies should reserve trade privileges with them exclusively to its own citizens. So long as France and Spain were separate and each was only moderately powerful, their commercial rivals, notably England and Holland, might hope to gain special trading concessions from time to time in French or Spanish colonies. But once the colonial empires of France and Spain were united under a joint ruler, such a monopoly would be created as might effectu-

ally prevent the expansion of English or Dutch commerce, while heightening the economic prosperity of the Bourbon subjects.

It was natural, therefore, that William III, as ~~stadholder~~ of Holland and king of England, should seek to preserve a balance of power between the Austrian Habsburgs and the French Bourbons. Both the claimants appreciated this fact and understood that neither would be allowed peacefully to appropriate the entire Spanish inheritance. In fact, several "partition treaties" were patched up between Louis XIV, Leopold I, and William III, with a view to maintaining the balance of power and preventing either France or Austria from unduly increasing its power. But flaws were repeatedly found in the treaties, and, as time went on, the problem grew more vexatious.

**Bourbon Ascendancy in Spain** After the conclusion of the peace of Ryswick (1697), Louis XIV was absorbed in the game of dividing the property of the dying Spanish king. One of the very greatest triumphs of Louis's diplomatic art was the way in which he ingratiated himself in Spanish favor. It must be remembered that it was Spain which the Grand Monarch had attacked and despoiled in his earlier wars of aggrandizement, and neither the Spanish court nor the Spanish people could have many patriotic motives for loving him. Yet such was his tact and his finesse that within three years after the treaty of Ryswick he had secured the respect of the feeble Charles II and the gratitude of the Spanish people.

Charles II, the last of the Spanish Habsburgs, a month before his pitiful death (1700), summoned all his strength and dictated a will that awarded his whole inheritance to Philip of Anjou, a grandson of Louis XIV, with the resolute proviso that under no circumstances should the Spanish possessions be dismembered. When the news reached Versailles, the Grand Monarch hesitated. He knew that acceptance meant war at least with Austria, probably with England. Perhaps he thought of the economic burdens which his other wars had already imposed on the French people.

Hesitation was but an interlude. Ambition triumphed over fear, and the glory of the Bourbon family over the welfare of France. In the great hall of mirrors at Versailles, the Grand Monarch heralded his grandson as Philip V, the first Bourbon king of Spain. And when Philip left for Madrid, his aged grand-

## THE PREDOMINANCE OF FRANCE

father proudly kissed him, and the Spanish ambassador exultantly declared that "the Pyrenees no longer exist."

Anticipating the inevitable outbreak of hostilities, Louis proceeded to violate the treaty of Ryswick by seizing the "barrier" fortresses from the Dutch and by recognizing the son of James II as king of England. He then made hasty alliances with Bavaria and Savoy, and called out the combined armies of France and Spain.

Meanwhile, William III and the Emperor Leopold formed the Grand Alliance to which at first England, Holland, Austria, and the German electors of Brandenburg-Prussia, Hanover, and the Palatinate adhered. Subsequently, Portugal, by means of a favorable commercial treaty with England,<sup>1</sup> was induced to join the alliance, and the duke of Savoy abandoned France in favor of Austria with the understanding that his country should be recognized as a kingdom. The allies demanded that the Spanish crown should pass to the Archduke Charles, the second son of the emperor, that Spanish trade monopolies should be broken, and that the power of the French king should be curtailed.

The War  
of the  
Spanish  
Succession

The War of the Spanish Succession—the fourth and final war of Louis XIV—lasted from 1702 to 1713. Although William III died at its very commencement, he was certain that it would be vigorously pushed by the English government of his sister-in-law, Queen Anne (1702–1714). The bitter struggle on the high seas and in the colonies, where it was known as Queen Anne's War, will be treated in another place.<sup>2</sup> The military campaigns in Europe were on a larger scale than had hitherto been known. Fighting was carried on in the Netherlands, in southern Germany, in Italy, and in Spain.

The tide of war turned steadily for several years against the Bourbons. The allies possessed the ablest generals of the time in the duke of Marlborough (1650–1722), the conscientious self-possessed English commander, and in the skillful and daring Prince Eugene of Savoy (1663–1736). The battle of Blenheim (1704) drove the French from the Holy Roman Empire, and the capture of Gibraltar (1704) gave England a foothold in Spain and a naval base for the Mediterranean. Prince Eugene crowded

<sup>1</sup> The "Methuen Treaty" (1703).

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 403–404.

the French out of Italy (1706); and by the victories of Ramillies (1706), Oudenarde (1708), and Malplaquet (1709), Marlborough cleared the Netherlands. On land and sea one Franco-Spanish reverse followed another. The allies at length were advancing on French soil. It appeared almost certain that they would dictate peace at Paris on their own terms.

Then it was that Louis XIV displayed an energy and devotion worthy of a better cause. He appealed straight to the patriotism of the French people. He set an example of untiring application to toil. Nor was he disappointed in his expectations. New recruits hurried to the front; rich and poor poured in their contributions; a supreme effort was made to stay the advancing enemy.

The fact that Louis XIV was not worse punished was due to this remarkable uprising of the French (and the Spanish) nation and likewise to dissensions among the allies. A change of ministry in England led to the disgrace and retirement of the duke of Marlborough and made that country lukewarm in prosecuting the war. Then, too, the unexpected accession of the Archduke Charles to the imperial and Austrian thrones (1711) rendered the claims of the allies' candidate for the Spanish throne as menacing to the European balance of power as would be the recognition of the French claimant, Philip of Bourbon.

These circumstances made possible the conclusion of the peace of Utrecht (1713), with the following major provisions:

(1) Philip V, grandson of Louis XIV, was acknowledged king of Spain and the Indies, on condition that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united.

(2) The Austrian Habsburgs were indemnified by securing Naples, Sardinia,<sup>1</sup> Milan, and the Belgian Netherlands. The last-named, which had been called the Spanish Netherlands since the days of Philip II, were styled from 1713 to 1797 the Austrian Netherlands.

(3) England received the lion's share of the commercial and colonial spoils. She obtained Newfoundland, Acadia (Nova Scotia), and Hudson's Bay from France, and Gibraltar and Minorca from Spain. She also secured a preferential tariff for her imports into the great port of Cadiz, the monopoly of the slave

<sup>1</sup> By the subsequent treaty of London (1720), Austria exchanged Sardinia for Sicily.

trade, and the right of sending one ship of merchandise a year to the Spanish colonies. France promised not to assist the Stuarts in their attempts to regain the English throne.

(4) The Dutch recovered the "barrier" fortresses and for garrisoning them were promised financial aid by Austria. The Dutch were also allowed to establish a trade monopoly on the River Scheldt.

(5) The elector of Brandenburg was acknowledged king of Prussia, an important step in the fortunes of the Hohenzollern family.<sup>1</sup>

(6) The duchy of Savoy was recognized similarly as a kingdom and was given the island of Sicily.<sup>2</sup> From the house of Savoy has descended the reigning sovereign of present-day Italy.

It will be noted that France itself gained no territory and no real advantage from the War of the Spanish Succession. Worse still, France actually lost important colonies and was saddled with a grievous load of taxation and debt. Yet there can be no doubt that, in a Europe where nations were identified with their sovereigns, the success of Louis XIV in seating his grandson on the Spanish throne served to uphold not only his own prestige but also that of France. France still appeared to be the predominant power in Europe, and, besides, there was now a seeming ascendancy of the Bourbon dynasty.

For eighty years after the treaty of Utrecht,—through the greater part of the eighteenth century,—the Bourbon dynasty reigned in both France and Spain, with the result that the foreign and colonial policies of these countries, hitherto divergent and conflicting, were now usually conducted in harmony. To be sure, the Habsburg dynasty remained powerful in Europe; it had ceased to rule Spain, but it controlled an Austrian dominion which had been enlarged and enriched by the acquisition of traditional Spanish territories in Italy and the Belgian Netherlands. As Spain had been used by the Austrian Habsburgs against France in the seventeenth century, so in the eighteenth century Spain was employed by the French Bourbons against

Continuing  
Prestige  
of France  
and the  
Bourbons

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 333.

<sup>2</sup> The title of king was recognized by the emperor only in 1720, when Savoy exchanged Sicily for Sardinia. Henceforth the kingdom of Savoy was usually referred to as the kingdom of Sardinia.

Austria—and England. And in the whirl of dynastic ambitions, France as well as Spain suffered. The new ascendancy of the Bourbons and the continuing predominance of France were more apparent than real.

In several ways, the latter years of Louis XIV—say from 1685—were unfortunate for France. In foreign policies, his不幸的政策 of the Spanish Succession (1702–1713) had fateful effects throughout the ensuing century. In domestic policies, his devotion to the court at Versailles, his autocracy in state and church, his treatment of the nobility and clergy, and his fiscal measures produced a long train of direful consequences. These domestic policies of Louis XIV merit brief explanation.

(1) *Devotion to the court at Versailles.* Louis XIV, after the completion of the great palace at Versailles, was so infatuated by it and so engrossed in its ceremonial that he came to regard Versailles as France and as the Bourbon empire. His predecessors had been Frenchmen; they travelled all over France, seeing and knowing it first-hand. But he and his successors down to the French Revolution knew only Versailles; they were increasingly indifferent to anything outside and almost unconscious of its existence; they seldom travelled and when they did they took the courtiers and ceremonies of Versailles with them.

(2) *Autocracy in state and church.* Louis XIV grew ever fonder of bending all his subjects to his own will. Much of what he had done, prior to 1685, to establish an orderly central government was undoubtedly beneficial, but as time went on he was too inclined to entrust the central government to second-rate courtiers and to close his ears to complaints from the provinces. Then, too, his zeal for centralization in the state prevented him from recognizing any virtue in local autonomy or individual initiative; what was not done by him or his agents should not be done at all.

In ecclesiastical matters, Louis XIV was similarly autocratic. He insisted that the Catholic Church in France should follow his dictates rather than the pope's and, with the assistance of Bossuet, he compelled the French bishops to declare (1682) that (1) the temporal sovereignty of kings is independent of the

pope; (2) a general council is above the pope; (3) the ancient liberties of the Gallican Church are sacred; (4) the authority of the pope belongs to pope and bishops jointly. This so-called "declaration of liberties of the Gallican Church" led to a violent quarrel between Louis XIV and Pope Innocent XI, but while the king formally withdrew the declaration in 1693, he continued to encourage the teaching of its doctrines.

Against other dissent from traditional Catholic Christianity, Louis XIV in his later years was sternly forceful. He persecuted the Jansenists and other Catholic groups whom he deemed heretical.<sup>1</sup> He also persecuted the Protestants. In this he was moved alike by the absolutist's desire for uniformity and by the penitent's fervor to make amends for earlier scandals of his private life. For a time he sought to terrify the Huguenots into conversion by quartering licentious soldiers upon them—the so-called dragonnades—but at length in 1685 he formally revoked the edict of Nantes. Thus did Louis XIV reverse the policy which for almost a century had made France a leading country in the practice of religious toleration. Huguenots were still accorded liberty of conscience, but they were denied freedom of worship and deprived of all civil rights in the kingdom. An immediate effect of this arbitrary action was the emigration of large numbers of industrious citizens, who settled in Prussia, Holland, England, or the English colonies in America and added materially to the economic and political life of the chief Protestant rivals of France.

(3) *Treatment of nobility and clergy.* Centralization, as Louis XIV conceived and achieved it, meant taking real political functions from the nobles, turning them into a useless class socially, and leaving them without political experience or capacity. Many lesser nobles remained on their landed estates, but, shorn of political power or influence, they became more and more isolated from their peasants and other fellow citizens and more and more devoted, in a selfish way, to festive hunting or to critical philosophy. On the other hand, many great nobles were obliged to take up their residence at Versailles, away from their hereditary estates and apart from the life of the nation. At Versailles, French nobles grew wasteful and vicious—and purely ornamental—at the very time when English nobles were

<sup>1</sup> On the Jansenists, see below, pp. 516–517.

## \* HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE

exercising full political sway and directing their country's foreign and domestic policies.

The French clergy continued to comprise a large number of devout and self-sacrificing priests, but the bishops and other higher clergy, with some notable exceptions, tended more and more, under Louis XIV's later rule, to be drawn from the nobility, to live in luxury apart from the common people, and to share in the pleasures and sometimes the vices of Versailles. Too few of the bishops were real religious leaders, as too few of the nobles were real political leaders. The weight of Louis XIV's government was becoming ever heavier; the persons trained to bear it were becoming ever fewer.

(4) *Fiscal measures.* Louis XIV countenanced ever increasing expenditure of money—for the building and upkeep of Versailles, for entertainment and show, for the maintenance of army and navy, for the waging of a long series of foreign wars, for the promotion of Bourbon ascendancy in Europe. Especially after the death of Colbert in 1683, the expenditure of Louis XIV became prodigal.

France was a relatively wealthy country. Its fields were fertile, its peasants were hard-working and thrifty, its artisans were acquiring an international reputation for the quality of French hand-made goods, and its middle classes were becoming more numerous and richer. France might have borne the burden of Bourbon expenditure without grave distress or popular murmur, had the burden been broadly and equitably distributed. But Louis XIV would countenance no fiscal reform in this direction. On the contrary, he persevered in exempting the nobility and clergy from taxation and in deriving state income almost wholly from the peasants and middle classes.

**Fiscal Abuses** Thereby, the state was deprived of income from the very great wealth in the hands of nobility and clergy, and these classes felt less and less responsibility for curbing expenditure or correcting fiscal abuses. At the same time, there was no parliament or other public agency through which the peasants and middle classes could exercise any financial control. This fact, coupled with the bad technique of "farming the taxes," which Louis XIV after Colbert's time did nothing to remedy, explains why in the last years of the Grand Monarch the accu-

mulating fiscal burdens of his domestic and foreign policies fell with crushing weight particularly upon the French peasants.

In the wake of the War of the Spanish Succession came to the masses of the French nation pestilence and famine, excessive taxes and imposts, official debasement of the currency, and the threat of public bankruptcy—a dangerous array of economic and social disorders. Louis XIV survived the treaty of Utrecht but two years, and to such depths had his prestige and glory fallen among his own people that his corpse, as it passed along the royal road from the magnificent palace at Versailles to the medieval tombs of the French kings at St. Denis, “was saluted by the curses of a noisy crowd sitting in the wine-rooms, celebrating his death by drinking more than their fill as a compensation for having suffered too much from hunger during his lifetime. Such was the coarse but true epitaph which popular opinion accorded to the Grand Monarch.”

Nor had the immediate future much better things in store for exhausted France. The successor upon the absolutist throne was Louis XV, great-grandson of Louis XIV,<sup>1</sup> a boy of five years of age, who did not undertake to exercise personal power until near the middle of the eighteenth century. In the meantime the centralized government of the country was directed for about eight years by the king’s uncle, the duke of Orleans, and then for twenty years by Cardinal Fleury.

Orleans<sup>2</sup> was intellectually gifted and considerably interested in natural science, but most of all he loved pleasure and gave himself to a life of debauchery. He cared little for the boy-king, whose education and training he grievously neglected. His foreign policy was weak and vacillating, and his several efforts to correct abuses in the political and economic institutions of Louis XIV invariably ended in failure. It was while experimenting with the disorganized finances that he was duped by a Scottish adventurer and capitalistic promoter,

The End  
of Louis  
XIV

The  
Minority  
of Louis  
XV

The Duke  
of Orleans

<sup>1</sup> Louis XIV’s son—the dauphin—had died in 1711, and his eldest grandson, the duke of Burgundy, in 1712. Louis XV was the latter’s son, and, it may be noted, the nephew of Philip V of Spain.

<sup>2</sup> Philip, duke of Orleans, was a nephew of Louis XIV, and, through marriage with a natural daughter of Louis XIV, was a great-uncle-in-law, as well as a cousin, of Louis XV.

a certain John Law (1671-1729). Law had an idea that a gigantic corporation might be formed for French colonial trade, shares might be sold widely throughout the country, and the proceeds therefrom utilized to wipe out the public debt. Orleans accepted the scheme and for a while the country went mad with the fever of speculation. In due time, however, the stock was discovered to be worthless, the bubble burst, and a terrible panic ensued.<sup>1</sup> The net result was increased misery for the nation.

Cardinal Fleury was naturally modest and frugal, and he was sincerely anxious to assure to France a foreign peace and an internal reform which would repair the havoc wrought by Louis XIV and Orleans. He especially husbanded the financial resources of the state; he reduced public expenditure and promoted the expansion of French manufacturing and trade, thereby managing to balance the royal budget and to benefit the middle classes. But Fleury was an old man—he was over seventy when he became chief minister, and ninety when death removed him from office in 1743—and he was not as energetic or as thorough as the situation required. He effected no fundamental internal reform, and by exacting forced labor from the peasants for the construction of a fine system of commercially valuable roads he aroused angry discontent. In foreign affairs, despite his personal eagerness for peace, he found himself a victim of Bourbon dynastic ambition.

Louis XV married in 1725 the daughter of Stanislaus Leszczynski, a Polish nobleman who had long struggled, in alliance with Sweden, to supplant the Saxon Augustus II as king of Poland. On the death of Augustus II in 1733, Stanislaus hastened to Warsaw and obtained his election to the kingship, but Russia at once interfered and prevailed upon the Polish electors to depose him and substitute the son of the late king as Augustus III. Whereupon Louis XV sent an army to the assistance of his father-in-law, and the War of the Polish Election began.

The War of the Polish Election (1733-1738) was complicated by the dynastic ambition of the Spanish Bourbon, Philip V (1700-1746). Philip V had never taken kindly to the enforced cession of Spanish possessions in Italy to the Austrian Habsburgs, and, egged on by his masterful wife, Elizabeth Farnese,

<sup>1</sup> Law's corporation was actually important in the development of the French colony of Louisiana.

he devoted his chief energies after 1715 to undoing the treaty of Utrecht. At first, both Orleans and Fleury coöperated with Austria and England in holding Philip V in check, but gradually the dynastic interests of the Bourbon family outweighed the national interests of France. At length in 1733, when the Polish War was beginning, and Austria was preparing to aid Russia against France, Fleury was induced to sign a treaty of alliance between France and Spain for the spoliation of Austria. The War of the Polish Election thus became a conflict between Russia and Austria on the one side and France and Spain (and Savoy) on the other.

The War  
of the  
Polish  
Election

The war was not so costly as the wars of Louis XIV had been, and the ensuing treaty of Vienna (1738) certainly strengthened Bourbon prestige in Europe. Austria and Russia had the satisfaction, it is true, of keeping Augustus III on the throne of Poland, but Austria was compelled to guaranty the duchy of Lorraine to Stanislaus during his lifetime and, after his death, to Louis XV,<sup>1</sup> and to agree to the transfer of Sicily and Naples, and eventually (in 1748) of Parma from Habsburg to Bourbon control. Philip V put his son, Charles, on the throne of Naples and Sicily and another son on the throne of Parma.

In this way, the Bourbon family added to their two kingdoms of France and Spain a third kingdom of Naples and Sicily—the so-called kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Charles, the son of Philip V, proved to be an able and enlightened ruler, first as king of the Two Sicilies (1738–1759) and later as Charles III of Spain (1759–1788). He reformed the internal administration of his realms, in the direction of more efficient centralization, but always with an eye to popular welfare. He was greatly interested in art and in the scientific advance and philosophical speculation of the eighteenth century. He also gave a good deal of attention to the improvement of colonial government in Spanish America. Unfortunately, the sons who succeeded Charles III—Ferdinand I in the Two Sicilies (1759) and Charles IV in Spain (1788)—were woeful specimens

The  
Bourbon  
Succession  
in Naples  
and Sicily

<sup>1</sup> Lorraine was formally added to France on the death of Stanislaus in 1766. Two years later, the island of Corsica was purchased by France from Genoa. Lorraine and Corsica thus constituted the territorial acquisitions of France during the reign of Louis XV.

of the Bourbon dynasty: Ferdinand was mean and cruel; Charles was stupid and ridiculous.

The most pitiable figure in the Bourbon family, however, was Louis XV of France. After the death of Cardinal Fleury in 1743, <sup>France under Louis XV</sup> Louis made a show of exercising direct personal power, and this show he spasmodically maintained until his own death in 1774. Louis XV had some good qualities of mind and heart, and for a time his subjects delighted to call him Louis the Well Beloved. But basically he was fickle and frivolous. Easily bored by the details of statecraft and by the pompous etiquette of the Versailles court, he sought escape in hunting, supper-parties, and spicy indiscretions. Thus he sank into sensuality and into the hands of a succession of mistresses—Chateauroux, Pompadour, Barry, to mention only three. Pompadour, particularly, was not only Louis XV's mistress but also, for almost twenty years (1745–1764), his prime minister in petticoats, and a remarkably sinister work she performed for the Bourbons and for France. Nothing was done to arrest the maladies which since the latter days of the Grand Monarch had been afflicting French society and government ever more sorely. On the contrary, almost everything was done which could intensify those maladies: the gulf between Versailles and the nation was widened; the privileges—and uselessness—of the upper classes were enhanced; the central government was rendered more arbitrary and more aimless; and to cap the climax, there was a series of terribly long and disastrous wars. Of these wars, we shall have more to say in another place.<sup>1</sup> Here it suffices to remark that they prepared the bankruptcy which precipitated the French Revolution.

Yet throughout the greater part of the eighteenth century the internal weaknesses of the royal government and the external defeats of its armies and fleets were veiled in the appearance of continuing French predominance and Bourbon ascendancy in Europe. France was deemed a rich country. Her soldiers and sailors were reputed especially brave and daring. Her elegance was manifest at Versailles, and the brilliance of her art and science and letters was scarcely rivalled anywhere in Europe. Besides, the Bourbon dynasty was still admired and envied. A

<sup>1</sup> For accounts of the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) and the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), see below, pp. 338–344, 406–413.

Bourbon ruled France and her overseas dependencies; a cousin of his ruled the kingdom of the Two Sicilies; another cousin ruled Spain, Mexico, Florida, the West Indies, New Granada, Peru, Chile, Argentina, and the Philippines. It was all quite glamorous.

As we now know, a great deluge was already preparing for France and the Bourbons. Louis XV had wit enough to guess it, but, as he cynically predicted, it would come after he was gone  
*Après moi, le déluge.*



## CHAPTER VII

### THE AUSTRIAN HABSBURGS AND THE RISE OF PRUSSIA

#### I. THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE IN DECAY



RADUALLY, the predominance of Spain in the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century and of France in the second half of the seventeenth century tended to reduce the prestige of the old Holy Roman Empire. Its actual power, already waning at the commencement of modern times, was greatly lessened by the multifarious difficulties of the Emperor Charles V and by the civil wars which raged intermittently from 1524 to 1648.

After 1648, and on through the eighteenth century, the Holy Roman Empire continued to exist. Though Switzerland and the Dutch Netherlands were finally and formally severed from it in

Germany and the Holy Roman Empire after 1648 1648, and though control of some of its other territories passed at this time to France and Sweden, it continued to embrace almost all German-speaking peoples and also the Czechs of Bohemia. There was still an emperor, chosen customarily from the Habsburg descendants of Ferdinand I, the brother of Charles V. There were still electors—the number had been increased from seven to nine<sup>1</sup>—with some influence and considerable honor. There was still a diet, composed of representatives of the princes and the free cities, meeting regularly, after 1663, at Ratisbon (or Regensburg) in Bavaria.

But diet, electors, and emperor were only nominal bonds of political union. In reality, the Holy Roman Empire was but a loose alliance of some three hundred independent and sovereign

<sup>1</sup> To the original seven electorates of Mainz, Trier, Cologne, Saxony, Brandenburg, Bohemia, and the Palatinate, Bavaria was added as an eighth in 1623, and Hanover as a ninth in 1708. The union of Bavaria and the Palatinate in 1778 again reduced the number of electorates to eight.

states; its emperor and electors were titular dignitaries, and its diet was a congress of diplomats. And within the Holy Roman Empire there was now neither the popular will nor the social and economic pressure needful for its strengthening as an empire or for its transformation into a German national state.

On the one hand, the wave of national enthusiasm which Martin Luther and the German knights invoked early in the sixteenth century, had spent itself in religious wrangling and dissension, intolerance and war. Half the Germans remained Catholic; the other half became Protestant. But Protestant Germans were divided between Lutheranism and Calvinism, and the mutual intolerance of these two kinds of Protestantism was surpassed only by the mutual intolerance of Protestant and Catholic. In the circumstances, each German state was a law unto itself in religion and the population of each was more devoted to its peculiar form of Christianity than to any common sense of German patriotism.

On the other hand, the rise of capitalism and of a numerous, well-to-do middle class had not gone steadily on within the Holy Roman Empire as it had in the Netherlands, France, and England. If it had gone steadily on, it might have provided the same basis for national spirit and national monarchy in Germany as it provided in the countries of western Europe. There certainly had been a remarkable growth of capitalism in the German cities at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and during the first half of that century it seemed as if the German bourgeoisie was profiting most from Spanish and Portuguese undertakings overseas and as if the Holy Roman Empire would become the centre of European banking. But religious quarrels and destructive civil wars served to weaken the Holy Roman Empire not only politically but also economically. And in the first half of the seventeenth century, just at the time when the Netherlands, France, and England were forging ahead in economics and fortifying the position of their middle classes by overseas colonies and commerce, Germany was suffering the awful havoc of the Thirty Years' War.<sup>1</sup>

It is not an exaggeration to say that during the Thirty Years' War, the Holy Roman Empire (that is, Germany and Bohemia) lost at least half of its population and more than two thirds of

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 263-275.

its movable property. In the middle of the seventeenth century, at about the time when Louis XIV succeeded to a fairly prosperous France, German towns and villages were in ashes, and vast districts turned into deserts. Churches and schools were closed by hundreds, and religious and intellectual torpor prevailed. Manufacturing and trade were so completely paralyzed that by 1635 the Hanseatic League was virtually abandoned, because the free commercial cities, formerly so wealthy, could not meet the necessary expenses. Economic expansion and colonial enterprise, together with the consequent upbuilding of a well-to-do middle class, were resigned to Holland, France, or England, without a protest from what had once been a proud burgher class in Germany.<sup>1</sup> This elimination of an influential bourgeoisie was accompanied by a sorry impoverishment and oppression of the peasantry. These native sons of the German soil had fondly hoped for better things from the religious revolution and agrarian insurrections of the sixteenth century; but they were disappointed. The peasantry were in a worse plight in the eighteenth century in Germany than in any other country of western or central Europe.

The German princes alone knew how to profit by the national prostration. Enriched by the confiscation of ecclesiastical property in the sixteenth century and relieved of political inter-

Gains for the Princes  
ference on the part of the emperor or the diet, they utilized the decline of the middle class and the dismal serfdom of the peasantry to exalt their personal political power. They got rid of the local assemblies or greatly curtailed their privileges, and gradually established petty tyrannies. After the Thirty Years' War, it became fashionable for the heirs of German principalities to travel abroad and especially to spend some time at the court of France. Here they imbibed the political ideas of the Grand Monarch, and in a short time nearly every petty court in Germany was a small-sized reproduction of the court of Versailles. In a silly and ridiculous way the German princes aped their great French neighbor. They too maintained armies, palaces, and swarms of household officials. Their mimic pomp imposed a crushing burden upon the people, although it was so insignificant in comparison with the real pomp of France,

<sup>1</sup> On the importance of German capitalism in the sixteenth century, see above, pp. 88-89. Its importance was quite gone at the end of the Thirty Years' War.

that the petty princes were the laughing-stock of Europe. Beneath an external gloss of refinement, they were, as a class, coarse and selfish, and devoid of any compensating virtue. Neither the common people, whom they had impoverished, nor the church, which they had robbed, could now resist their growing absolutism.

Certain princes took advantage of the situation to aggrandize their territories by conquest or marital alliance. They thus



secured sufficient revenues to enable them to maintain fairly large armies and to play important rôles in international affairs. In other words, while the empire as an organized whole was growing weaker, some of the states within it were becoming stronger. By the eighteenth century, as we shall presently see, Brandenburg-Prussia was a great power, Bavaria and Saxony were aspiring to be great powers, and Austria possessed dependencies outside the Holy Roman Empire which amply compensated her for loss of effective leadership within the empire.

"A special source of weakness within the Holy Roman Empire

during the eighteenth century was the continuing ownership of some of its lands by princes whose major possessions were outside. This was true of Austria, not only. Alsace was held by the king of France; part of Pomerania, by the king of Sweden; and Hanover, by the king of Great Britain. These monarchs, anxious to safeguard or to extend their German lands, perpetually interfered in the domestic politics of the empire and frequently participated in wars whose principal battle-ground was Germany.

## 2. THE DOMINIONS OF THE AUSTRIAN HABSBURGS

The emperors of the Holy Roman Empire continued to be chosen, as we have said, from the Austrian branch of the Habsburg family. As emperors these Habsburgs had an historical title and dignified trappings, but very little power. Yet they did have power within their own hereditary dominions. And consequently it should occasion no surprise that they were far less interested, especially after the Thirty Years' War, in defending and consolidating the empire than in extending their own dominions and exercising absolutism within them.

In these latter respects the Austrian Habsburgs were as successful as they were unsuccessful in strengthening the Holy Roman

The Austrian "Empire". Indeed, under their auspices, there grew up, side by side with the decaying Holy Roman Empire, an Austrian "empire" which long ranked as a great power in Europe. This Austrian "empire" was not technically an empire at all; its head was properly styled emperor only if he were elected to the honorary headship of the Holy Roman Empire. On the other hand, the Austrian "empire" was not in any way a national state, like France or England or Spain; it was a union, under a common monarch, of the most diverse lands and peoples; some of its territory was within the Holy Roman Empire, and some was outside. It was a congeries of disparate dominions. Yet its government was exercised from Vienna and was far more effective than that of the Holy Roman Empire, and its sovereign could draw on economic and military resources which the essentially German Empire lacked.

The Austrian "empire" was called Austrian because its core—the territory which had been longest in the possession of its reigning family of Habsburgs—was the archduchy of Austria. The archduchy centred in Vienna, and on it had long depended the

districts of Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and the Tyrol. These districts were included within the Holy Roman Empire and were peopled mainly by Germans. But from the time of Ferdinand I, in the sixteenth century, the Habsburg archdukes of Austria were kings of Bohemia and of Hungary. Bohemia, though within the Holy Roman Empire and accounted one of its "electorates," was inhabited chiefly by Czechs.<sup>1</sup> Hungary, entirely outside of the empire, comprised the old Magyar state on the plains of the lower Danube, centring in Budapest, and certain dependencies, such as the Yugoslav "kingdom" of Croatia, the Rumanian principality of Transylvania, and the region of Slovakia whose population was akin in speech and nationality to the Czechs of Bohemia.

Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary—these, from the sixteenth century, were the hereditary dominions—the real "empire"—of the Austrian Habsburgs. They constituted a continuous block of territory from Saxony on the northwest to the Ottoman Empire on the southeast, but at the same time a confused realm of disparate peoples and languages. Only the German archduchy of Austria was consistently and enthusiastically loyal to the common Habsburg monarch. With both Bohemia and Hungary the monarch had trouble. It was a revolt of the Czechs in Bohemia against Ferdinand II which precipitated the Thirty Years' War. The revolt was suppressed, and Ferdinand and his successors ruled Bohemia with an iron hand, impairing its parliament, stamping out Protestantism which had taken root in its soil, and, in general, favoring its German minority at the expense of its Czech majority.

In Hungary the Habsburg monarchs at the outset were confronted with the most serious difficulties. A third of the country, including the city of Budapest, was in the possession of the Moslem Turks and under the government of the sultan at Constantinople. Another third—the principality of Transylvania—was practically independent under a native Magyar prince of Protestant persuasion. In the remaining third, which was ruled by the Habsburg monarch but which had to pay annual tribute

The  
Struggle  
for Hun-  
gary be-  
tween  
Habs-  
burgs and  
Sultans

<sup>1</sup> Silesia, one of the crown lands of Bohemia, was largely German, and there was a German minority in the other crown land of Moravia, as well as in Bohemia proper.

to the Turks; most of the nobles were Protestant and were more inclined to support the prince of Transylvania than the Catholic archduke of Austria. Gradually, toward the close of the sixteenth century, the Austrian power made headway in Hungary. There was a marked revival of Catholicism; the princes of Transylvania reverted to the older faith, and the majority of Magyar nobles abandoned Protestantism. As a result of the so-called "Long War" with the Turks (1593–1606), the Habsburg monarch was freed from the humiliating payment of tribute to the sultan. Moreover, a succession of weak and corrupt sultans in the first half of the seventeenth century prevented the Turks from taking advantage of Austria's absorption in the Thirty Years' War. And in the latter part of the seventeenth century, when the Sultan Mohammed IV (1648–1687) undertook to resume the offensive against Hungary and Austria, the Habsburg monarch, the Emperor Leopold I (1657–1705),<sup>1</sup> found his threatened power decisively supported by a strong coalition of Christian sovereigns.

Moslem armies of Mohammed IV had suddenly overrun Hungary in 1682, and in the following year had invaded Austria and laid siege to Vienna. Leopold was hard pressed and the fall of his capital city seemed imminent, when a valiant king of Poland—John III (Sobieski)—came to his rescue, defeated the Turks, and raised the siege of Vienna. Then, when Leopold hesitated to follow up Sobieski's victory, Pope Innocent XI

**The Last Crusade** preached and organized what was in reality the last of the great crusades. The pope, the republic of Venice, the king of Poland, the tsar of Russia, and, for a time, even Louis XIV of France, coöperated in furnishing generals, men, and money to the Emperor Leopold for a crusading counter-offensive against the Moslems. For sixteen years the struggle raged in Hungary and with increasing success for Christian arms. The wave of Turkish conquest recoiled and began finally to recede. The inspiration was the pope's, and the heroes were Sobieski of Poland and Prince Eugene of Savoy; but the major political advantages accrued to Austria. By the treaty of Karlowitz (1699) the Turks surrendered all their earlier conquests

<sup>1</sup> Leopold I was the son and successor of Ferdinand III during whose reign the Thirty Years' War had been brought to an end. See above, p. 272. Leopold was both nephew and brother-in-law of Philip IV of Spain, and uncle of Charles II of Spain. He was thus the foremost rival of Louis XIV of France for the inheritance of the Spanish Habsburgs. See above, pp. 307–309.

north of the Danube, and Hungary was reunited under the sceptre of the Austrian monarch.<sup>1</sup> Already in 1687, while the war was in progress, an assembly of Magyar magnates had been induced to declare the crown of Hungary hereditary in the Habsburg family, and three years later Transylvania had been formally incorporated in the Habsburg dominions.

Hardly was Hungary freed from the Turks and definitively joined with Austria and Bohemia, when the Austrian Habsburgs plunged into the War of the Spanish Succession against Louis XIV of France (1702-1713). Though they were unable to prevent the French sovereign from securing Spain and its colonial empire for the Bourbon family, they were successful in adding to the Austrian dominions a considerable number of scattered Continental lands which had previously belonged to Spain.<sup>2</sup> Thus, by the treaty of Utrecht (1713) the Emperor Charles VI obtained the Flemish and French-speaking Belgian Netherlands and the Italian-speaking duchy of Milan and kingdom of the Two Sicilies.<sup>3</sup> Of course all these newer possessions of the Austrian Habsburgs remained outside the Holy Roman Empire.

Extension  
of the  
Domin-  
ions of the  
Austrian  
Habs-  
burgs

Among the various peoples who, by the eighteenth century, were brought under Austrian sway, the bond could not be close. They spoke a dozen different languages and presented an even greater diversity of economic interests. Their common monarch ruled them by manifold titles: he was archduke of Austria, king of Bohemia, king of Hungary, duke of Milan, and prince of the (Belgian) Netherlands; and the administration of each of these five major groups was independent of the others. Besides, he was Holy Roman Emperor.

To adopt and pursue a policy which would suit all these titles, lands, and peoples would scarcely have been possible for any mortal; it certainly surpassed the wit of the Habsburgs. They had made an attempt in the early part of the sixteenth

<sup>1</sup> In addition to these Austrian gains, Poland obtained territory north of the Dniester River, and Venice secured certain ports on the eastern coast of the Adriatic.

<sup>2</sup> They were also successful in suppressing an attempt which Hungarians made during the War of the Spanish Succession to free themselves from the Habsburg connection and reestablish their complete independence.

<sup>3</sup> The kingdom of the Two Sicilies was eventually surrendered (1738) to the Bourbons. See above, pp. 316-317.

**Difficulty of Ruling Disparate Dominions** century, and again at the opening of the seventeenth century, to develop a vigorous German policy, to unify the Holy Roman Empire and to strengthen their hold upon it, but they had failed. The disasters of the Thirty Years' War, the jealousies and ambitions of the other German princes, the interested intervention of foreign powers, notably Sweden and France, made it brutally clear that Habsburg influence in Germany had already reached its highest pitch and that henceforth it would tend gradually to wane.

Blocked in Germany, the Austrian Habsburgs looked elsewhere to satisfy their aspirations. But almost equal difficulties confronted them. Extension to the southeast in the direction of the Balkan peninsula involved almost incessant warfare with the Turks. Increase of territory in Italy incited Spain, France, and Savoy to armed resistance. Development of the trade of the Belgian Netherlands aroused the hostility of the influential commercial classes in Holland, England, and France. The time and toil spent upon these non-German projects obviously could not be devoted to the internal affairs of the Holy Roman Empire. Thus, not only was Germany a source of weakness to the Habsburgs, but the Habsburgs were a source of weakness to Germany.

In spite of these drawbacks, the Habsburg family was still powerful in the eighteenth century. The natural resources and

**Continuing Prestige of the Habsburgs** native wealth of some of the dominions; the large, if rather cosmopolitan, armies which might be raised; the intricate marriage relationships with most of the sovereign families of Europe; the championship of Christendom against the Moslem Turks, and of Catholicism against the Protestants; the absolutist principles and practices of the dynasty; the meticulous etiquette and external pomp of the court at Vienna—all contributed to cloak the weaknesses, under a proud name and pretentious fame, of the imperial Austrian line.

In the eighteenth century a particularly unkind fate seemed to attend the Habsburg family. We have already noticed how the extinction of the male line in the Spanish branch precipitated

a great international war of succession. This resulted in the division of the Spanish inheritance and the cession of a large part of it to the rival Bourbon family (1713).<sup>1</sup> Soon, a similar situation arose in respect of the Austrian inheritance. Charles VI (1711-1740) had neither sons nor brothers, but only a daughter, Maria Theresa.

Question  
of the  
Austrian  
Succession

Spurred on by the fate of his Spanish kinsman, Charles directed his energies toward securing a settlement of his possessions prior to his death. Early in his reign he promulgated a so-called Pragmatic Sanction which declared that the Habsburg dominions were indivisible and that, contrary to long custom, they might be inherited by female heirs in default of male. Then he subordinated his whole foreign policy to securing general European recognition of the right of Maria Theresa to succeed to all his territories. One after another of his dominions swore to observe the Pragmatic Sanction. One after another of the foreign powers—Prussia, Russia, Great Britain, Holland, the Empire, Poland, France, Spain, and Savoy,—to whom liberal concessions were made—pledged their word and their honor most sacredly to respect the Pragmatic Sanction. When Charles VI died in 1740, he left his daughter a disorganized state, a bankrupt treasury, and a relatively small, ill-disciplined army, but he bequeathed her an ample number of parchment guaranties. The cynical Prussian king of the time remarked that 200,000 fighting men would have been a more useful legacy, and, as events proved, he was right.

### 3. THE HOHENZOLLERNS AND PRUSSIA

Next to the Habsburgs, the most renowned German family in the eighteenth century was the Hohenzollern. As far back as the tenth century, a line of counts was ruling over a castle on the hill of Zollern just north of what is now Switzerland. These counts had slowly extended their possessions and their power through the fortunes of feudal warfare and the kindly interest of Holy Roman emperors, until at length, in the twelfth century, a representative of the Hohen-

The  
Hohen-  
zollern  
Family

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 306-311.

zollerns had become by marriage burgrave of the important city of Nuremberg.

The Hohenzollerns had been fortunate, but as yet they were no more conspicuous than hundreds of petty potentates throughout the Holy Roman Empire. It was not until they were invested by a Habsburg emperor with the electorate of Brandenburg in 1415 that they became prominent. Brandenburg was a district of northern Germany, centring in the town of Berlin and lying along the Oder River. As a "mark," or frontier province, it was then the northern and eastern outpost of the German language and German culture, and the exigencies of almost perpetual warfare with the neighboring Slavic peoples had given Brandenburg a good deal of military experience and prestige. As an electorate, moreover, it possessed considerable influence in the internal affairs of the Holy Roman Empire.

In the sixteenth century, the acceptance of Lutheranism by the Hohenzollern electors of Brandenburg enabled them, like many other princes of northern Germany, to seize valuable properties of the Catholic Church and to rid themselves of a power which had curtailed their political and social sway. Brandenburg subsequently became the chief Protestant state of Germany, just as to Austria was conceded the leadership of the Catholic states.

The period of the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) was as auspicious to the Hohenzollerns as it was unlucky for the Habsburgs. On the eve of the contest, propitious marriage alliances bestowed two important legacies upon the family—the duchy of Cleves<sup>1</sup> on the lower Rhine, and the duchy of East Prussia,<sup>2</sup> on the Baltic north of Poland. Henceforth the head of the Hohenzollern family could sign himself margrave and elector of Brandenburg, duke of Cleves, and duke of Prussia.

<sup>1</sup> Though the alliance between Brandenburg and Cleves dated from 1614, the Hohenzollerns did not reign over Cleves until 1666. With Cleves went its dependencies of Mark and Ravensberg.

<sup>2</sup> Prussia had been formed and governed from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century by the Teutonic Knights, a military, crusading order of German Catholics, who were instrumental in Christianizing and Germanizing the native Baltic population. In the sixteenth century the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, a member of the Hohenzollern family, adopted the Lutheran faith and transformed Prussia into an hereditary duchy in his own family. In a series of wars West Prussia

In the last-named rôle, he was a vassal of the king of Poland; in the others, he owed fealty to the Holy Roman Emperor. In the course of the Thirty Years' War, the Hohenzollerns helped materially to lessen imperial control, and at the close of the struggle they secured for themselves ~~the wealthy bishoprics of Halberstadt, Minden, and Magdeburg,~~<sup>The Acquisition of Prussia</sup>

<sup>Frederick William, the Great Elector</sup> The international reputation of the Hohenzollerns was enhanced by Frederick William, commonly styled the Great Elector (1640–1688). When he ascended the throne, the Thirty Years' War had reduced his scattered dominions to utmost misery. With resolution, however, he set out to reduce the misery, to unify his various possessions, and to make his realm a factor in general European politics. By diplomacy more than by military prowess, he obtained in the peace of Westphalia the title to the above-mentioned additions of territory. Then, taking advantage of a war between Sweden and Poland (1655–1660),<sup>2</sup> he made himself so invaluable to both sides, now helping one, now deserting to the other, that, by cunning and sometimes by unscrupulous intrigue, he induced the king of Poland to renounce suzerainty over East Prussia and to give him that duchy in full sovereignty. In the Dutch War of Louis XIV (1672–1678)<sup>3</sup> he completely defeated the Swedes, who were in alliance with France, and, although he was not allowed by the provisions of the peace to keep what he had conquered, nevertheless the fame of his army was established and Brandenburg-Prussia took rank as the chief competitor of Sweden for the hegemony of the Baltic.

In matters of government, the Great Elector was, like his contemporary Louis XIV, a firm believer in monarchical absolutism. At the commencement of his reign, each one of the three parts of his lands—Brandenburg, Cleves, and East Prussia was incorporated into Poland, while East Prussia became a fief of that kingdom. It was to East Prussia only that the Hohenzollern elector of Brandenburg succeeded in 1618.

<sup>1</sup> The right of accession to Magdeburg was accorded the Hohenzollerns in 1648; they did not formally possess it until 1680.

<sup>2</sup> This so-called "First Northern War" was concluded by the peace of Oliva (1660), by which Poland formally relinquished Livonia to Sweden and East Prussia to Brandenburg. Sweden, nominally the victor, was greatly weakened by the struggle. The real victor was Brandenburg.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 300–301.

**THE HOHENZOLLERN FAMILY (1415-1840);  
ELECTORS OF BRANDENBURG AND KINGS OF PRUSSIA**

**FREDERICK I, Elector of Brandenburg**  
| (1415-1440)

**FREDERICK II : ALBERT ACHILLES**  
**(1440-1470) (1470-1486)**

JOHN CICERO  
(1485-1499)

Frederick, m. Sophia, dau. of Casimir IV, King of Poland  
Margrave of Ansbach,  
d. 1536

JACCHIM I  
(1499-1535)

Albert,  
Card. Archb.  
of Mainz,  
d. 1545

Albert, Grand Master of  
Teutonic Order (1511-1525),  
Duke of Prussia (1525-1568)

JOACHIM II  
(1535-1571)

Albert Frederick, m. Maria Eleonora, heiress  
Duke of Prussia | of Cleves, Jülich, and  
(1568-1618) | Berg

**JOACHIM FREDERICK  
(1598-1608)**

JOHN SIGISMUND.....*m.*.....Anne  
(1608-1619)

GEORGE WILLIAM  
(1619-1640)

**Eleonora m. GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS,  
King of Sweden**

## FREDERICK WILLIAM, the Great Elector (1640-1688)

FREDERICK III (1688-1713)

(Frederick I, King of Prussia, 1701-1713)

**FREDERICK WILLIAM I** *m.* Sophia, dau. of **GEORGE I** of Great Britain and Hanover  
(1713-1740)

## FREDERICK II, the Great (1740-1786)

Augustus William

FREDERICK WILLIAM II  
(1786-1797)

FREDERICK WILLIAM III  
(1797-1840)

**FREDERICK WILLIAM IV  
(1840-1861)**

Charlotte m. NICHOLAS I,  
Tsar of Russia

—was organized as a separate, petty state with its own diet or parliament, its own army, and its own independent administration. After a hard constitutional struggle, Frederick William deprived the several diets of their significant functions, centralized financial control in his own person, declared the local armies national, and merged the three separate administrations into one, subservient to his royal council at Berlin. Thus, the three states were amalgamated into one; and to all intents and purposes they constituted a united monarchy.

The Great Elector was a tireless worker. He encouraged industry and agriculture, drained marshes, and built the Frederick William Canal, joining the Oder with the Elbe. When the revocation of the edict of Nantes caused many Huguenots to leave France, the Great Elector's warm invitation attracted to Brandenburg some 20,000, who were settled around Berlin and who gave French genius as well as French names to their adopted country. The capital city, which at the Great Elector's accession numbered barely 8,000, counted at his death a population of over 20,000.

Brandenburg-Prussia was already an important monarchy, but its ruler was not recognized as "king" until 1701, when the Emperor Leopold I conferred upon him that title in order to enlist his support in the War of the Spanish Succession. In 1713, by the treaty of Utrecht, the other European powers acknowledged the title. It was Prussia, rather than Brandenburg, which gave its name to the new kingdom, because the former was an entirely independent state, while the latter was a member of the Holy Roman Empire. Thereafter the "kingdom of Prussia"<sup>1</sup> designated the combined territories of the Hohenzollern family.

The  
"King-  
dom" of  
Prussia

Prussia rose rapidly in the eighteenth century. She shared with Austria the leadership of Germany and secured a position in Europe as a first-rate power. This rise was the result largely of the efforts of Frederick William I (1713-1740).

King Frederick William was a curious reversion to the type of his grandfather: he was the Great Elector over again with

<sup>1</sup> At first, the Hohenzollern monarch assumed the title of king in Prussia, because West Prussia was still a province of the kingdom of Poland. Gradually, however, under Frederick William I (1713-1740), the popular appellation of "king of Prussia" prevailed over the formal "king in Prussia." West Prussia was definitely acquired in 1772 (see below, p. 344).

all his practical good sense if without his taste for diplomacy. Paternal despotism was his ideal of kingship, and it was his ambition to use the limited resources of his country so effectively that Prussia would be feared and respected abroad. He felt that absolutism was the only kind of government consonant with the character of his varied and scattered dominions. He understood in a canny way the need of a strong army. He realized that only the closest economy would permit a relatively small kingdom to support a relatively large army. Under Frederick William I, financial economy, military might, and divine-right monarchy became the characteristics of Hohenzollern rule in Prussia.

By thrift that often bordered on miserliness King Frederick William I managed to increase his standing army from 38,000 to 80,000 men, bringing it up in numbers so as to rank with the regular armies of such first-rate states as France and Austria. In efficiency, it probably surpassed the others. An iron discipline molded the Prussian troops into the most precise military engine then to be found in Europe, and a staff of officers, who were not allowed to buy their commissions, as in many European states, but who were appointed on the basis of professional merit, commanded the army with skill and loyalty.

In civil administration, the king persevered in the work of centralizing the various departments. A "general directory" was entrusted with the businesslike conduct of public finances and it gradually evolved an elaborate civil service—the famous Prussian bureaucracy, which, in spite of inevitable red tape, became justly famous for its honesty and devotion to duty. The king endeavored to encourage industry and trade by enforcing up-to-date mercantilist regulations, and, although he repeatedly expressed contempt for current culture because he thought its tendencies were weakening, he nevertheless prescribed compulsory elementary education for his people.

Yet Frederick William did not spend much money on what to-day we call the "peace" activities of government. Of his modest annual budget of about seven million thalers, he spent less than one million on education, the civil service, and the court; he put a million away as a reserve-fund for emergencies, and he expended over five millions on the maintenance of his military establishment.

King Frederick William had many personal eccentricities that highly amused Europe. Imbued with patriarchal instincts, he had his eye on everybody and everything. He treated his kingdom as a schoolroom, and, like a zealous schoolmaster, flogged his naughty subjects unmercifully. If he suspected a man of possessing adequate means, he might command him to erect a fine residence so as to improve the appearance of the capital. If he met an idler in the streets, he would belabor him with his cane and perhaps put him in the army. And his craze for tall soldiers led him to create the famous Potsdam Guard of Giants, a special company whose members must measure at least six feet in height. For service in the Guard he attracted many foreigners by liberal financial offers: it was the only luxury which the parsimonious king allowed himself.

During a portion of his reign the crabbed old king feared that all his labors and savings would go for naught, for he was supremely disappointed in his son, the crown-prince <sup>The Youth of</sup> Frederick. The stern father had no sympathy for the literary, musical, artistic tastes of his son, whom he <sup>Frederick the Great</sup> thought effeminate and whom he abused roundly with a quick and violent temper. When Prince Frederick tried to run away, the king arrested him and for punishment put him through such an arduous, slave-like training in the civil and military administration, from the lowest grades upward, as perhaps no other royal personage ever received. It was this despised and misunderstood prince who as Frederick II succeeded his father on the throne of Prussia in 1740 and is known in history as Frederick the Great.

The year 1740 marked the succession of Frederick the Great to the Hohenzollern territories and of Maria Theresa to the Habsburg dominions. It also marked the outbreak of a protracted struggle within the Holy Roman Empire between the two chief German states—Austria and Prussia.

#### 4. MINOR GERMAN STATES

Of the three hundred other German states which composed the Holy Roman Empire, few were sufficiently large or important to exert any considerable influence on the issue of the contest. A few, however, which took sides, deserve mention not only because in the eighteenth century they preserved a kind of

balance of power between the rivals but also because they have been more or less conspicuous factors in the history of modern Europe. Such are Bavaria, Saxony, and Hanover.

Bavaria lay on the upper Danube to the west of Austria and in the extreme southeastern corner of what is now the German republic. For centuries it was ruled by the Wittelsbach family, whose remarkable prince, Maximilian I (1597-1651), had headed the Catholic League and loyally supported the Habsburgs in the Thirty Years' War. By the peace of Westphalia Maximilian had gained a part of the Palatinate<sup>1</sup> together with the title of "elector." His successor had labored with much credit in the second half of the seventeenth century to repair the damage caused by the war, encouraging agriculture and industries, building or restoring numerous churches and monasteries. But the Bavarian electors in the first half of the eighteenth century sacrificed a sound, vigorous policy of internal reform to a far-reaching ambition in international politics. Despite the bond of a common religion which united them to Austria, they felt that their proximity to their powerful neighbor made the Habsburgs their natural enemies. In the War of the Spanish Succession, therefore, Bavaria took the side of France against Austria, and when Maria Theresa ascended the throne in 1740, the elector of Bavaria, who had married a Habsburg princess disbarred by the Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VI, immediately allied himself with Frederick of Prussia and with France in order to dismember the Austrian dominions.

The Saxony of the eighteenth century was but a very small fraction of the vast Saxon duchy which once comprised all Saxony northwestern Germany and whose people in early times had emigrated to England or had been subjugated by Charlemagne. Saxony had been restricted since the thirteenth century to a district on the upper Elbe, wedged in between Habsburg Bohemia and Hohenzollern Brandenburg. Here, however, several elements combined to give it an importance far beyond its extent or population. It was the geographical centre of Germany. It occupied a strategic position between Prussia and Austria. Its ruling family—the Wettins—were electors of the empire. It had been, moreover, after the champion-

<sup>1</sup> The other part of the Palatinate, under another branch of the Wittelsbachs, was reunited with Bavaria in 1779. On Maximilian I, see above, pp. 264-265.

ship of Martin Luther by one of its most notable electors,<sup>1</sup> a leader of the Lutheran cause; and the reformer's celebrated translation of the Bible had helped to fix the Saxon dialect as the literary language of Germany. At one time it seemed as if Saxony, rather than Brandenburg-Prussia, might become the dominant state in Protestant Germany. But the trend of events determined otherwise. A number of amiable but weak electors in the seventeenth century repeatedly allied themselves with Austria against the Hohenzollerns and thereby practically conceded to Brandenburg the leadership of the Protestant states of northern Germany.<sup>2</sup> Then, too, toward the close of the century, the elector separated himself from his people by becoming a Catholic, and, in order that he might establish himself as king of Poland, he burdened the state with continued Austrian alliance, with war, and with heavy taxes. The unnatural union of Saxony and Poland was maintained throughout the greater part of the eighteenth century: it was singularly disastrous for both parties.

A part of the original ancient territory of the Saxons in north-western Germany was included in the eighteenth century in the state of Hanover, extending between the Elbe and the Weser and reaching from Brandenburg down to the North Sea. Hanover was recognized as an electorate during the War of the Spanish Succession,<sup>3</sup> but its real importance rested on the fact that its first elector, through his mother's family, became in 1714 George I of Great Britain, the founder of the Hanoverian dynasty in that country. This personal union between the British kingdom and the electorate of Hanover continued for over a century, and was not without vital significance in international relations. Both George I and George II thought of themselves as German princes. They preferred Hanover to England as a place of residence and directed their primary efforts toward the protection of their German lands from Habsburg or Hohenzollern encroachments.

<sup>1</sup> Frederick the Wise (1486-1525).

<sup>2</sup> Another source of weakness in Saxony was the custom in the Wettin family of dividing the inheritance among members of the family. Such was the origin of the infinitesimal states of Saxe-Weimar, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, Saxe-Meiningen, and Saxe-Altenburg.

<sup>3</sup> The emperor had given the title of elector to Ernest Augustus in 1692; the Powers recognized his son, George I, as elector in 1708.

## HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE

Enough has now been said to give some idea of the distracted condition of Germany in the eighteenth century and to explain why the Holy Roman Empire was a merely nominal bond of union. Austria, traditionally the chief of the German states, was increasingly absorbed in her non-German possessions in Hungary, Italy, and the Netherlands. Prussia, the rising kingdom of the North, comprised a population in which Slavs constituted a large minority. Saxony was linked with Poland; Hanover, with Great Britain. Bavaria was a chronic ally of France. Add to this situation, the political domination of France or Sweden over a number of the petty states of the empire, the selfishness and jealousies of all the German rulers, the looming bitter rivalry between Prussia and Austria, and the sum-total was political chaos, bloodshed, and social oppression.

### 5. THE CONTEST BETWEEN HOHENZOLLERNS AND HABSBURGS

In the struggle between Prussia and Austria—between Hohenzollerns and Habsburgs—centred the European diplomacy and wars of the mid-eighteenth century. On one side was the young king Frederick II (1740–1786); on the other, the young queen Maria Theresa (1740–1780). Both had ability and sincere devotion to their respective states and peoples,—a high sense of royal responsibilities. Maria Theresa was beautiful, emotional, and proud; Frederick was domineering, cynical, and calculating. The Austrian princess was a firm believer in Catholic Christianity; the Prussian king, nominally a Protestant Christian, was an admirer of Voltaire and a devotee of rationalism and deism.

Frederick inherited from his father a fairly compact monarchy and a splendidly trained and equipped army of 80,000 men. He smiled at the disorganized troops, the disordered finances, the conflicting interests in the hodge-podge of dominions which his rival had inherited from her father. He also smiled at the solemn promise which Prussia had made to respect the integrity of the Austrian inheritance. No sooner was the Emperor Charles VI dead and Maria Theresa ruler in Vienna than Frederick II entered into engagements with Bavaria and France to dismember her realm. The elector of Bavaria was to be made Holy Roman Emperor as Charles VII and Prussia was to appropriate Silesia. France had designs upon the Austrian Netherlands.

Silesia thus became the bone of contention between Frederick II and Maria Theresa. Silesia covered the fertile valley of the upper Oder, separating the Slavic Czechs of Bohemia on the west from the Slavic Poles on the east. It was a fairly prosperous area, and its population, which was largely German, was as numerous as that of the whole kingdom of Prussia. If annexed to the Hohenzollern possessions it would enrich them and make them overwhelmingly German. On the other hand, the loss of Silesia would give Austria less direct influence in strictly German affairs and would deprive her of an important source of revenue and of military strength.

Seizure of  
Silesia by  
Fred-  
erick II

Trumping up an ancient family claim to the duchy, Frederick immediately marched his army into Silesia and occupied Breslau, its capital. To the west, a combined Bavarian and French army prepared to invade Austria and Bohemia. Maria Theresa, pressed on all sides, fled to Hungary and begged the Magyars to help her. The effect was electrical. Hungarians, Austrians, and Bohemians rallied to the support of the Habsburg throne; recruits were drilled and hurried to the front; the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748) was soon in full swing.

A trade war had broken out between Great Britain and Spain in 1739,<sup>1</sup> which speedily became merged with the continental struggle. Great Britain was bent on maintaining liberal trading privileges in the Belgian Netherlands and always opposed the incorporation of those provinces into the rival and powerful monarchy of France, preferring that they should remain in the hands of some distant and less-feared, less commercial power, such as Austria. Great Britain, moreover, had fully recognized the Pragmatic Sanction and now determined that it was in accordance with her own economic interests to supply Maria Theresa with money and to despatch armies to the Continent to defend the Netherlands against France and to protect Hanover against Prussia. On the other side, the royal family of Spain now sympathized with their Bourbon kinsmen in France and hoped to recover from Austria all the Italian possessions of which Spain had been deprived by the treaty of Utrecht (1713).

War be-  
tween  
Great  
Britain  
and Spain

<sup>1</sup> Commonly called the War of Jenkins's Ear. See below, pp. 405-406.

## HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE

The main parties to the War of the Austrian Succession were, therefore, on the one hand, Prussia, France, Spain, and Bavaria, and, on the other, Austria and Great Britain. To the former at first adhered the elector of Saxony, who wished to play off Prussia against Austria for the benefit of his Saxon and Polish lands, and the king of Sardinia, who was ever balancing in Italy between Habsburg and Bourbon ambitions. With Austria and Great Britain was united Holland, because of her desire to protect herself from possible French aggression.

The war was not so terrible or bloody as its duration and the number of contestants would seem to indicate. Saxony, which inclined more naturally to Austrian than to Prussian friendship, was easily persuaded by bribes to desert her allies and to make peace with Maria Theresa. Spain would fight only in Italy; and Sardinia, alarmed by the prospect of substantial Bourbon gains in that peninsula, went over to the side of Austria. The Dutch were content to defend their own territories.

Despite the greatest exertions, Maria Theresa was unable to expel Frederick from Silesia. Her generals suffered repeated reverses at his hands, and three times she was forced to recognize his occupation in order that she might employ all her forces against her western enemies. By the third treaty between the two German sovereigns, concluded at Dresden in 1745, Silesia<sup>1</sup> was definitely ceded by Austria to Prussia. Frederick had gained his ends: he coolly deserted his allies and withdrew from the war.

Meanwhile the Austrian arms had elsewhere been more successful. The French and Bavarians, after winning a few trifling victories in Bohemia, had been forced back to the upper Danube. Munich was occupied by the troops of Maria Theresa at the very time when the elector was being crowned at Frankfurt as Holy Roman Emperor. The whole of Bavaria was soon in Austrian possession, and the French were in retreat across the Rhine. Gradually, also, the combined forces of Austria and Sardinia made headway in Italy against the Bourbon armies of France and Spain.

<sup>1</sup> Except a very small district, which thereafter was known as "Austrian Silesia."

## AUSTRIAN HABSBURGS AND RISE OF PRUSSIA

In the last years of the war, the French managed to protect Alsace and Lorraine from Austrian invasion, and, under the command of the gifted Marshal Saxe, they actually succeeded in subjugating the greater part of the Austrian Netherlands and in carrying the struggle into Holland. On the high seas and in the colonies, the conflict raged between France and Great Britain as "King George's War."<sup>1</sup>

The treaties which ended the War of the Austrian Succession were signed at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. They confirmed the acquisition of Silesia by Frederick II of Prussia and restored everything else to the situation at the opening of the conflict. The Wittelsbach family was reinstated in Bavaria and in the Palatinate, and the husband of Maria Theresa, Francis of Lorraine, succeeded Charles VII as Holy Roman Emperor. France, for all her expenditures and sacrifices, gained nothing. The War of the Austrian Succession was but a preliminary encounter in the great duel between Prussia and Austria for German leadership. It was similarly only an indecisive round in the prolonged battle between France and Great Britain for the mastery of the colonial and commercial world.

In the war just closed, Austria had been the chief loser, and the resolute Maria Theresa set herself at once to the difficult task of recovering her prestige and her ceded territory. Her first efforts were directed toward internal reform—consolidating the administrations of her various dominions by the creation of a strong central council at Vienna, encouraging agriculture, equalizing and augmenting the taxes, and increasing the army. Her next step was to form a great league of rulers that would find a common interest with her in dismembering the kingdom of Frederick. She knew she could count on Saxony. She easily secured an ally in the Tsarina Elizabeth of Russia, who had been deeply offended by the caustic wit of the Prussian king. She was already united by friendly agreements with Great Britain and Holland. She had only France to win to her side, and in this policy she had the services of an invaluable agent, Count Kaunitz, the greatest diplomat of the age. Kaunitz held out

<sup>1</sup>See below, pp. 406-407.

to France, as the price for the abandonment of the Prussian alliance and the acceptance of that of Austria, the tempting bait

The "Diplomatic Revolution" of the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium). But Louis XV of France at first refused an Austrian alliance: it would be a departure from the traditional French and

Bourbon policy of opposing the Habsburgs. Kaunitz then appealed to the king's mistress, the ambitious Madame de Pompadour, who, like the Tsarina Elizabeth, had had plenty of occasions for taking offense at the witty verses of the Prussian monarch. The favor of the Pompadour was won, and France entered the league against Prussia.

Meanwhile, however, Great Britain had entered into a special agreement with Frederick with the object of guarantying the integrity of Hanover and the general peace of Germany. When, therefore, the colonial war between Great Britain and France was renewed in 1754, it was quite natural that the former should contract a definite alliance with Prussia. Thus it befell that, whereas in the indecisive War of the Austrian Succession Prussia and France were pitted against Austria and Great Britain, in the determinant Seven Years' War, which ensued, Austria and France were in arms against Prussia and Great Britain. This overturn of traditional alliances has been commonly designated the "diplomatic revolution."

The Seven Years' War lasted in Europe from 1756 to 1763, and, as regards both the number of combatants and the brilliant generalship displayed, deserves to rank with the War of the Spanish Succession as the greatest war which the modern world had so far witnessed. In another chapter will be related the story of its maritime and colonial counterpart, which embraced the French and Indian War in America (1754-1763) and the triumphant campaigns of Clive in India, and which decisively established the supremacy of Great Britain on the seas, in the Far East, and in the New World.<sup>1</sup> Here is sketched its course on the European continent.

Without waiting for a formal declaration of hostilities, Frederick seized Saxony, from which he exacted large indemnities and drafted numerous recruits, and, with his well-trained veteran troops, crossed the mountains into Bohemia. He was obliged by superior Austrian forces to raise the siege of Prague and to fall

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 407-413.

back on his own kingdom. Thence converged from all sides the allied armies of his enemies. Russians moved into East Prussia; Swedes from Pomerania into northern Brandenburg, Austrians into Silesia, while the French were advancing from the west. Here it was that Frederick displayed those qualities which entitle him to rank as one of the greatest military commanders of all time and to justify his title of "the Great." Inferior in numbers to any one of his opponents, he dashed with lightning rapidity into central Germany and at Rossbach (1757) inflicted an overwhelming defeat upon the French, whose general wrote to Louis XV, "The rout of our army is complete: I cannot tell you how many of our officers have been killed, captured, or lost." No sooner was he relieved of danger in the west than he was back in Silesia. He flung himself upon the Austrians at Leuthen, took captive a third of their army, and put the rest to flight.

The victories of Frederick, however, decimated his army. He still had money, thanks to the subsidies which poured in from Great Britain, but he found it very difficult to procure men. He gathered recruits from hostile countries; he granted amnesty to deserters; he even enrolled prisoners of war. He was no longer sufficiently sure of his soldiers to take the offensive, and for five years he was reduced to defensive campaigns in Silesia. The Russians occupied East Prussia and penetrated into Brandenburg; in 1759 they captured Berlin.

The French, after suffering defeat at Rossbach, directed their energies against Hanover but encountered unexpected resistance at the hands of an army collected by British gold and commanded by the duke of Brunswick, a nephew of Frederick. Brunswick defeated them and gradually drove them out of Germany. This series of reverses, coupled with disasters that attended French armies in America and in India, caused the French king to call upon his cousin, the king of Spain, for assistance. The outcome was the formation of a close defensive alliance (1761)—the "Family Compact"—between the Bourbon states of France, Spain, and the Two Sicilies, and the entrance of Spain into the war (1762).

What really saved Frederick the Great was the death of the Tsarina Elizabeth (1762) and the accession to the Russian throne of Peter III. a dangerous madman and an intense admirer of the

military prowess of the Prussian king. Peter in brusque style transferred the Russian forces from the standard of Maria Theresa to that of Frederick and restored to Prussia the conquests of his predecessor.<sup>1</sup> Spain entered the war too late to affect its fortunes materially. She was unable to regain what France had lost, and in fact the Bourbon states were utterly exhausted. The Austrians, after frantic but vain attempts to wrest Silesia from Frederick, finally despaired of their cause.

The treaty of Hubertusburg (1763) put an end to the Seven Years' War in Europe. Maria Theresa finally, though reluctantly, **Treaty of Hubertusburg** surrendered all claims to Silesia. Prussia had clearly humiliated Austria and become a first-rate power. The Hohenzollerns were henceforth the acknowledged peers of the Habsburgs. The almost synchronous treaty of Paris closed the war between Great Britain, on the one hand, and France and Spain on the other, by ceding the bulk of the French colonial empire to the British.<sup>2</sup> Thereafter, Great Britain was mistress of the seas and chief colonial power of the world.

Shortly after the close of the Seven Years' War, Frederick the Great negotiated a close political alliance with the Tsarina Catherine II of Russia. He knew that Catherine had designs on Poland, and he believed that by aiding her in such designs he could procure some Polish spoils for Prussia and at the same time could be sure of Russian support against further attempts of Austria

**Fred-**  
**erick II's**  
**Share in**  
**the Par-**  
**tion of**  
**Poland** to recover Silesia. His belief proved sound. Frederick's title to Silesia was not questioned again by Maria Theresa of Austria, and in 1772, in concert with Catherine, he arranged for the seizure of Polish territories.

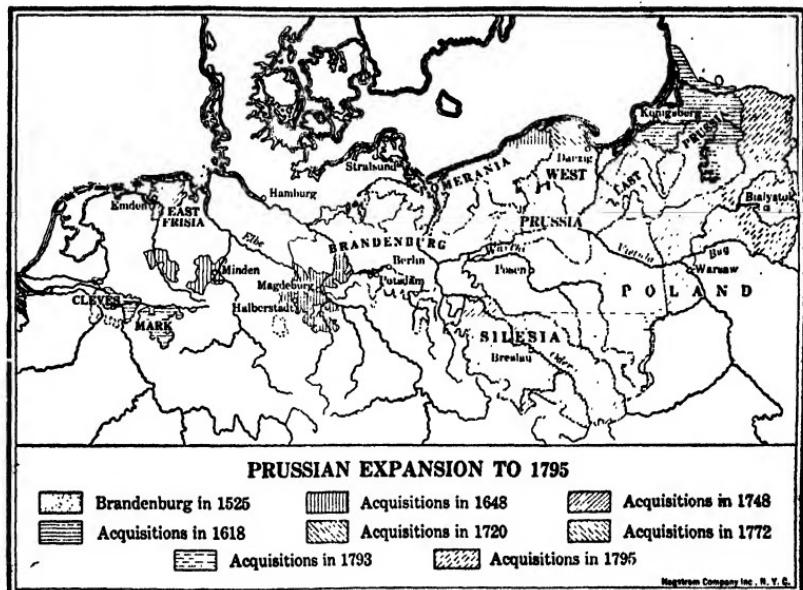
Catherine appropriated the country east of the Dünna and Dnieper rivers. Frederick annexed West Prussia, except the towns of Danzig and Thorn, thereby linking up Prussia and Brandenburg by a continuous line of territory. Maria Theresa, moved by the loss of Silesia and by fear of the undue preponderance which the partition of Poland would give to her northern rivals, thought to adjust the balance of power by sharing in the shameful transaction; she appropriated Galicia, except the important

<sup>1</sup> Peter III was dethroned in the same year. His wife, Catherine II, who succeeded him, was a German princess whom Frederick the Great had been largely instrumental in marrying to Peter III. She maintained, toward Frederick, a "benevolent neutrality."

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 411-412.

city of Cracow. Maria Theresa repeatedly expressed her abhorrence of the whole business, but, as the scoffing Frederick said, "She wept, but she kept on taking." Altogether, by this so-called "first partition" of 1772, Poland lost about a fifth of her population and a fourth of her territory.<sup>1</sup>

The partition of Poland was more favorable to Prussia than to Austria. In the former case, the land annexed lay along the



Baltic and served to render East Prussia, Brandenburg, and Silesia a geographical and political unit. On the other hand, Austria to some extent was positively weakened by the acquisition of territory outside her natural frontiers, and the addition of a turbulent Polish people further emphasized the diversity of nationalities and the clash of interests within the Habsburg dominions.

When, a few years later, the succession to the electorate of Bavaria was in some doubt and Austria laid claims to the greater part of that state (1777-1779), Frederick again stepped in, and now by intrigue and now by threats of armed force prevented any considerable extension of Habsburg control. The last important act of his foreign policy was the formation of a league of princes to champion the lesser German states against Austria.

<sup>1</sup> On this and the later partitions of 1793 and 1795, see below, pp. 381-383.

## HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE

### 6. FREDERICK THE GREAT AND THE AGE OF "ENLIGHTENED" DESPOTS

Frederick the Great of Prussia was not merely a military genius and unscrupulous diplomat. He was an almost perfect example of the benevolent, "enlightened" despots who flourished on the Continent of Europe in the second half of the eighteenth century.

It was after Louis XIV of France—the Grand Monarch—that Frederick and the other despots of his age patterned their conception of politics: not only that the state should be a "dynastic" state, embracing as many different lands and peoples as a royal family, through marriage or conquest, could bring under its sway; not only that such a dynastic state should be centralized under a monarch who would be absolute in fact as well as in name, but that the monarch should work hard, that he should conscientiously discharge the duties of his office, that he should benevolently labor for the material well-being of his subjects. But beyond the scope of Louis XIV's policies went the aims of Frederick and his fellow despots of the eighteenth century. These monarchs were "enlightened," as Louis XIV had not been; they sympathized more or less openly with the "intellectual revolution" which in their day was influencing a large number of thoughtful persons to emphasize scientific rather than religious interests and to demand rational reforms in government and society, in church and education.<sup>1</sup> Frederick and his fellows would be both benevolent and "enlightened."

In his youth, Frederick had imbibed a taste for the new intellectual developments—for the new physical science, for the new deistic philosophy, for the latest fads in French literature and art and criticism. Then, thanks to the dogged determination of his stern father, Frederick had become something more than a flute-playing, poetizing, sceptical philosopher; he had been forced to familiarize himself with all the dull details of statecraft and, curiously enough, had learned to like them and to attend to them most industriously.

By the time he succeeded to the Prussian throne in 1740, Frederick had a clear conviction of his duties and responsibilities.

<sup>1</sup> On the Intellectual Revolution, see below, ch. xi.

He would secure foreign glory for himself and for Prussia, of course, but he would also make Prussia the most governed and best governed state in Europe. His political ideals he expressed in a book which he wrote in French on the theory of government. "The prince," he said, "is to the nation he governs what the head is to the many; it is his duty to see, think, and act for the whole community, that he may procure it every advantage of which it is capable." "The monarch is not the absolute master, but only the first servant of the state."

During his long reign from 1740 to 1786, Frederick was indeed the first servant of Prussia. He usually rose before six every morning, working at official correspondence and business until eleven, with a little time off for drinking his coffee and playing his flute; then came military parade, and an hour afterwards, punctually, dinner, which continued until two, or later, if conversation happened to be interesting; after dinner he signed cabinet orders written in accordance with his morning instructions, often adding caustic marginal notes, and then amused himself with literary work until six; at seven there was a concert, and at half past eight he was ready for supper and the evening's entertainment. For years at a stretch, he was engaged in difficult and most hazardous foreign wars, as we have seen,<sup>1</sup> but even at these times he by no means lost zeal for internal administration or interest in internal reform. He was very meticulous about filling the public offices with faithful and capable men and assuring their good behavior by constant supervision on his part. He took his responsibilities quite seriously.

Frederick did much for the economic development of Prussia, especially its agriculture.<sup>2</sup> He encouraged the nobles and other landlords to introduce "scientific" farming, to drain marshes and enlarge the area of cultivation, to plant fruit trees and such root crops as potatoes and turnips, and to improve the breeding of domestic animals. He himself fostered immigration and built

<sup>1</sup> The War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748) and the Seven Years' War (1756-1763).

<sup>2</sup> Frederick and other "enlightened" despots of the age were greatly interested in the agricultural revolution which was occurring at that time in Great Britain—the rise of "gentleman farming" which was capitalistic and scientific, which substituted "enclosures" for open-field farming, and which promised greatly to increase the yield of crops and the wealth of the agricultural classes. See below, pp. 465-469.

canals. In accordance with his ideas of discipline, he insisted that the peasants should remain in a condition of serfdom, but he was anxious to lighten their financial burdens; he declared that a man who worked all day in the fields "should not be hounded to despair by tax-collectors."

Taxes were not light by any means, but everybody felt that the king was not squandering the public funds. Frederick was not a man to lavish fortunes on courtiers or mistresses. He diligently examined all accounts. His officials dared not be extravagant for fear of being corporally punished, or, what was worse, of being held up to ridicule by the witty tongue of their royal master.

It was Frederick's financial planning and economy which enabled him to increase his army to 200,000 men and to embark upon the foreign policy of conquest by which Silesia and a part of Poland were won. On the army alone Frederick was willing to spend freely, but even in this department he made sure that Prussia received its money's worth. Tireless drill, strict discipline, up-to-date arms, well trained officers, and, most of all, Frederick's enthusiasm and ability rendered the Prussian army the envy of Europe in the second half of the eighteenth century.

There was nothing, outside of his army, about which Frederick took so much trouble as about the administration of justice. He disliked the formalities and unreasonableness of the law, and on one occasion, when he thought injustice had been done to a poor man, he dismissed the judges, condemned them to a year's imprisonment, and compelled them to make good out of their own pockets the loss sustained by their victim. Under Frederick's "enlightened" auspices, moreover, the laws of the land were codified and simplified and were published in clear and compact form for the information of the public and the guidance of the courts. Torture was abolished in criminal investigations, and other humane reforms were decreed.

In religious matters, Frederick was devoid of the fiery Protestant zeal which had distinguished some of his Hohenzollern ancestors. It was part of his "enlightenment" to be sceptical about Christian faith and morals, to doubt the Bible and sneer at clergymen, and to affirm that "all religions must be tolerated and every person allowed to go to heaven in his own fashion." To the scandal of many of his Lutheran subjects, he welcomed

Catholics in Prussia and told them that they might build their churches "as high as they pleased and with as many towers and bells"; and he amazed all kinds of Christians by the declaration that "if Turks should come to populate the land, I myself shall build them mosques." Only against the Jews did he discriminate, and in their case not because of their religious beliefs but because of qualities which he fancied were inherent in their race. He obliged Jews to adopt surnames and to obtain special licenses to live in Prussia; he arbitrarily expelled them from this or that locality; sometimes when he thought they might be serviceable, he favored them, and at other times he imposed annoying restrictions upon them.

Into the intellectual life of his age—its science and its art—Frederick entered heart and soul. He restored and invigorated the Berlin Academy of Science. He read with avidity and appreciation the contemporary accounts of scientific advance and rationalist speculation. He established many elementary schools to spread a knowledge of reading and writing among the lower classes of his subjects. He liked to play his flute while thinking how to outwit Maria Theresa. He delighted in appending facetious comments to official reports and petitions. He enjoyed sitting at table with congenial companions and discussing poetry and the drama. True, he disliked German literature; he thought the work of Lessing and Goethe vulgar and uninspired. But he was fond of French literature. He invited literary Frenchmen to come to Berlin. He himself wrote histories, dialogues, and verses in the French language. Even Voltaire was a guest at Frederick's court, until the "prince of philosophers" went too far in correcting the amateur poems of the Prussian despot.

"Enlightened" despotism was brilliantly exemplified by Frederick the Great of Prussia, but it was at least an ideal for most of his monarchical contemporaries. In the Austrian dominions, Maria Theresa, Frederick's foe in war, was his rival in works of peace. Maria Theresa was not "enlightened" in the Frederician or Voltairean sense; she was fearful of the new critical philosophy, temperamentally averse to radical changes, and quite devoted to the Catholic religion. But she was benevolent; she thought it a religious duty, if not an evidence of philosophical "enlightenment," to be kind to her subjects. She was a good ruler, and her reign was a period of comparative prosperity and peace. Her son, Leopold II, was a weak and vacuous monarch, but her grandson, Joseph II, was a man of great ability and energy, who made important contributions to the welfare of his people. His reign was a period of great progress in Austria, and he is remembered as one of the greatest monarchs of Europe.

Austria  
under  
Maria  
Theresa

ment," to do what she could to better the condition of her state and the lot of her subjects. At first with the aid of her husband, the Emperor Francis I (1745-1765), and thereafter with the collaboration of her son, the Emperor Joseph II (1765-1790), Maria Theresa effected some reforms in the hereditary Habsburg lands. She emphasized absolutism in government, suspended the meetings of the local diets or parliaments in most parts of her dominions, reorganized the ministries at Vienna, and otherwise promoted the centralization of the monarchy. She similarly welded the hitherto separate armies of her diverse dominions into a unified "Austrian" army. She made German the official language of military officers and began to substitute it for Latin and local dialects in the civil administration. She curtailed the privileges of religious orders in the interest of royal absolutism, and she suppressed the Jesuits. She was a liberal patroness of musicians and painters and showed her interest in education by remodelling the Austrian universities and elaborating a system of elementary and secondary schools.

Joseph II, who had been associated with his mother since 1765, became sole ruler of the Austrian empire upon her death

**Joseph II of Austria** in 1780, and thenceforth for ten years, he gave unrestrained pursuit to "enlightened" despotism. For

Joseph II, unlike Maria Theresa, was thoroughly "enlightened." He admired Voltaire and Rousseau. He surpassed Frederick the Great in devotion to reason and reform. "I," he said, "have made philosophy the legislator of my empire; her logical principles shall transform Austria." In his mind, Austria was to be as completely remodelled as any Rousseau might have wished—except, of course, in respect of Rousseau's basic idea of popular sovereignty. He believed in the despotism, if not in the divine-right, of monarchs.

It is a pity that Joseph II cannot be judged simply by his good intentions, for he was quite unfitted to carry out wholesome reforms. He had derived his ideas from French philosophers rather than from actual life; he was so sure that his theories were right that he would take no advice; he was impatient and would brook no delay in the wholesale application of his theories. Regardless of tradition, regardless of opposition, regardless of every consideration of political expediency, he rushed ahead on the path of reform.

To Joseph II it mattered not that the masses of his subjects were Catholic Christians. Catholicism, in his opinion, must be purged of superstition and unreason and must be subordinated to the state. He insisted that no papal bulls should be published in his dominions without his own authorization; he nominated the bishops; he confiscated church lands. Side altars and various emblems were removed from the churches. Customary ceremonies were altered. Many monasteries were abolished. The clergy were to be trained in state schools. And, to cap the climax, heretics and Jews were to be not only tolerated, but actually given equal rights with orthodox Catholics.

Some of these measures were no doubt desirable, and some of them might have been accomplished without causing much disturbance, but by trying to reform everything at once, Joseph only shocked and angered the clergy and such of his people as piously loved their religion.

His political policies, which were no more wisely conceived or executed, were three in number. (1) He desired to extend his possessions eastward to the Black Sea and southward along the Adriatic, while the distant Netherlands might conveniently be exchanged for near-by Bavaria. (2) He wished to get rid of all provincial assemblies and other vestiges of local independence, and to have all his territories governed uniformly by officials subject to himself. (3) He aimed to uplift the lower classes of his people, and to put down the proud nobles, so that all should be equal and all alike should look up to their benevolent, but all-powerful, ruler.

The first of these policies proved sterile. His designs on Bavaria were frustrated, as we have seen, by Frederick the Great, who posed as the protector of the smaller German states. In the Balkan peninsula he undertook a war in 1786, in alliance with Russia, against the Ottoman Empire, and his army captured Belgrade; but after his death, his successor felt obliged to conclude a peace which secured no territorial gain for Austria.<sup>1</sup>

Joseph II's administrative policy was as unfortunate as his territorial ambition. Maria Theresa had taken some steps to simplify the administration of her heterogeneous dominions, but she had wisely allowed Hungary, Lombardy, and the Netherlands to preserve certain of the traditions and formulas of

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 280.

self-government, and she did everything to win the loyalty and confidence of her Hungarian subjects. Joseph, on the other hand, carried the sacred crown of St. Stephen—treasured by all Hungarians—to Vienna, and abolished the Hungarian diet. Then, with a stroke of the pen, he decreed a new system of local government for his empire. He divided it into thirteen provinces, each under a military commander. Each province was divided into districts or counties, and these again into townships. There would be no more local privileges, but everything was to be managed from Vienna. The army was henceforth to be on the Prussian model, and the peasants were to be forced to serve their terms in it. German was to be the official language throughout the Habsburg realm. This was all very fine on paper, but in practice it was a gigantic failure. The Austrian Netherlands rose in revolt rather than surrender their local laws; the Tyrol did likewise; and angry protests came from Hungary. Local peculiarities and traditions could not be so easily abolished.

Finally, in his attempts to reconstruct society, Joseph came to grief. He directed that all serfs should become free men, able to marry without the consent of their lord, permitted to sell their holdings, and privileged to pay a fixed rent instead of being compelled to labor four days a week for their lord. Nobles and peasants alike were to share the burdens of taxation, all paying thirteen per cent on their land. Joseph intended still further to help the peasantry, for, he said, "I could never bring myself to skin two hundred good peasants to pay one do-nothing lord more than he ought to have." He planned to give everybody a free elementary education, to encourage industry, and to make all his subjects prosperous and happy.

But the peasants disliked compulsory military service and misunderstood Joseph's efforts in their behalf; the nobles hated him for attempting to deprive them of their feudal rights; the middle classes were irritated by his autocracy and his bungling interference in industry and trade; the clergy preached against his religious policy. When Joseph II was dying (1790), he confessed that, "after all my trouble, I have made but few happy, and many ungrateful." He directed that most of his "reforms" should be cancelled, and proposed as his epitaph the gloomy sentence: "Here lies the man who, with the best intentions, never succeeded in anything."

Joseph I, archduke of Austria and Holy Roman Emperor, was at once the most enthusiastic and the least successful of all the European monarchs of the age of enlightened despotism. Yet his failure was not disastrous, and it should not obscure the substantial achievements of Frederick II (the Great) of Prussia and other less volatile but equally "enlightened" despots of the period.

Charles III of Naples (1738-1759) and Spain (1759-1788) was "enlightened," and, with the assistance of ministers as "enlightened" as himself,<sup>1</sup> he instituted numerous re-

Charles III  
of Naples  
and Spain

forms in his realms. He worked hard. He centralized the administration. He reduced the public debt. He patronized science and art. He encouraged "scientific" farming, constructed roads and canals, and fostered manufactures. He suppressed the Jesuits and checked the operations of the Inquisition. He reorganized the army and rebuilt the navy. He improved the administration of the colonies in America and fostered emigration to them from the mother country. During the reign of Charles III, the revenues of Spain tripled, its population grew from seven to eleven millions, its prestige improved abroad, and an unwonted spirit of toleration appeared at home.

Charles's neighbor, Joseph I (1750-1777) of Portugal, shone in the reflected glory of a distinguished minister, Pombal by name, who was both an "enlightened" philosopher and an active statesman. Under Pombal's administration, the royal authority was strengthened at the expense of nobility and clergy and was used to promote education and the material well-being of the middle and lower classes in Portugal.

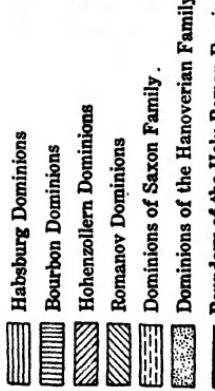
Joseph I  
of Portugal

Sweden had a similarly "enlightened" despot in Gustavus III (1771-1792); Sardinia, in Charles Emmanuel III (1730-1773); Tuscany, in Leopold I (1765-1790), a brother of Joseph II of Austria and his successor as Holy Roman Emperor; and, as we shall learn in the next chapter, Catherine II (1762-1796) of Russia played at being "enlightened." Only France, among the major powers of the Continent of Europe, lacked an eminent exponent of enlightened despotism, and even here Louis XVI (1774-1792) did his best to be benevolent.

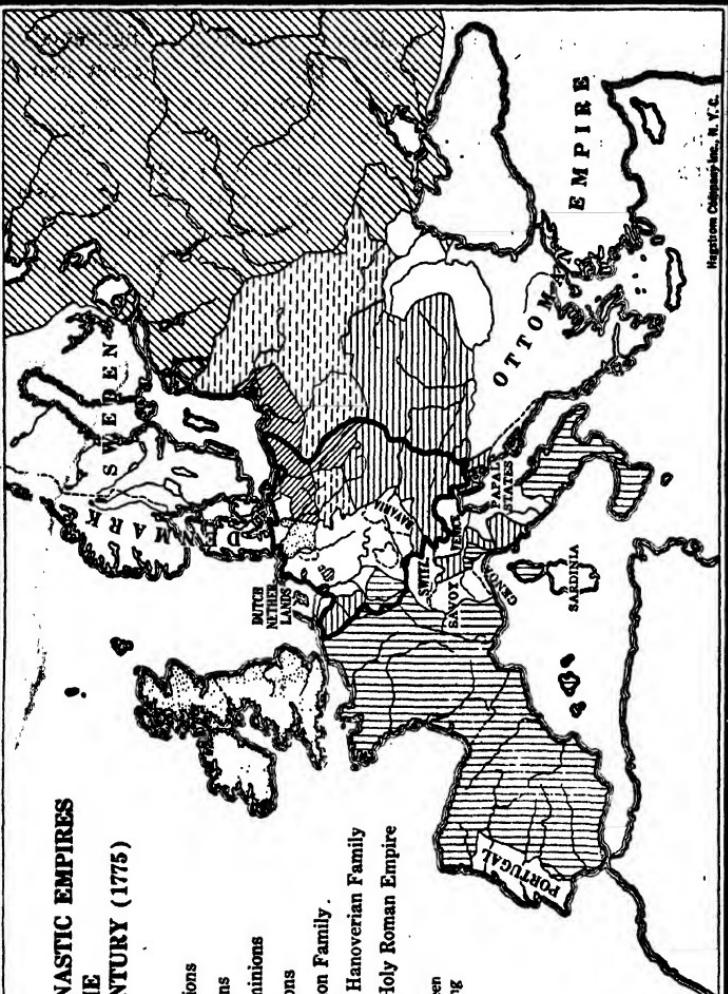
Other  
"Enlight-  
ened"  
Despots

<sup>1</sup> Especially, the duke of Aranda.

THE EUROPEAN DYNASTIC EMPIRES  
OF THE  
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (1775)



Note: The dynastic union between  
Saxony and Poland, beginning  
in 1697, had ended in 1763



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Despite its vogue and its undoubted benefits, "enlightened" despotism as practiced by Frederick the Great and fellow monarchs in the eighteenth century, possessed certain inherent weaknesses. One such weakness was the prevailing *dynastic* character of the European state-system of the age. There had grown up, since at least the sixteenth century, a number of dynastic empires, sprawling over the map of Europe, and dividing or overlapping particular nationalities. This involved such a variety—usually such a conflict—of demands upon the time and attention of the presiding despots that, no matter how "enlightened" they might be, they could seldom carry any policy of reform to complete fruition.

Weaknesses of  
"Enlightened"  
Despotism

Associated with this weakness of the dynastic state-system was the unwillingness of the despots to consecrate their chief energy to internal reform. All of them were ambitious to extend their territories and to gain dynastic prestige abroad, and their consequent wars and conquests often paralyzed their other efforts. No previous period in the world's history was more replete with international conflicts of a selfish and sordid sort than the age of enlightened despotism. It was "enlightened" despots who conducted such bloody wars as resulted from the seizure of Silesia by Frederick the Great and such shameful intrigues as led to the partition of Poland. And in a few intervening years of peace, not even the wisest and most benevolent despots could make good all the human and material losses of the many years of warfare.

Another grave weakness of "enlightened" despotism was the contemptuous attitude of the "enlightened" despot toward his "unenlightened" subjects. He acted on the assumption that he knew what was for the good of his people better than they themselves knew, and accordingly he was prone to force reforms on them whether the reforms were popularly desired or not. As a result, few of his changes were permanent, and popular ingratitude was frequently his reward.

A final weakness of "enlightened" despotism lay in the fact that its perpetuation depended upon every able sovereign's being succeeded by a sovereign equally able. This seldom happened. Just as Louis XIV had been succeeded in France by the incompetent Louis XV, so Charles III was followed in Spain by a half-witted boor, Joseph I in Portugal by an insane queen,

and Gustavus III in Sweden by a madman. It seemed to be the general rule that incompetence should succeed ability, that extravagance should waste the fruits of economy, and that corruption should undo reform.

Frederick the Great, who gave tone and special repute to the age of benevolent despotism, left no children. On his death in

**The Passing of Frederick the Great** 1786, the Prussian crown passed to his nephew, Frederick William II (1786-1797), a timid creature who loved to defer to Austria, to pietistic clergymen, and to a bevy of coarse mistresses. It was this spineless prince who, only three years after Frederick's death, heard a most ominous threat against monarchical despotism of any kind; the threat was the beginning of the French Revolution.



## CHAPTER VIII

### THE RISE OF RUSSIA

#### I. RUSSIA AND THE ROMANOVS



UCH states in western Christendom as Spain, France, Holland, and England, were becoming strong and influential and were extending their sway over distant continents, at the very time when the leadership in eastern Christendom was passing from a Byzantine (Greek) Empire to a Russian Empire. The Byzantine Empire, the medieval continuation of the ancient Graeco-Roman Empire, had long been the political expression of eastern Christendom, but in 1453, on the eve of modern times, this Byzantine Empire, as we have seen, finally fell prey to conquest by Moslem Ottoman Turks.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, the only state of eastern Europe and Orthodox Christianity which did not fall prey to Moslem conquest was the Russian state, then known as the grand-duchy of Muscovy.

During the century following the extinction of the Byzantine Empire, the grand-duchy of Muscovy was a relatively backward and even primitive state. Yet, under the rule of such princes as Ivan the Great and Ivan the Terrible, foundations were laid for its later fame. The Ivans regarded themselves as successors of the Christian emperors at Constantinople. Ivan the Great caused himself to be described in the ritual of the Orthodox Church as "the ruler and autocrat of all Russia, the new Tsar Constantine in the new city of Constantine, Moscow."<sup>2</sup> Each of his successors invariably had himself crowned as "tsar and autocrat of all Russia." Muscovy was thus transformed into Russia, and its

Trans-  
forma-  
tion  
of Mus-  
covy into  
Russia

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 11-15. And on early Russia, see above, pp. 37-38.

<sup>2</sup> The first cæsar of the Graeco-Roman Empire had been Constantine I, and the last had been Constantine XI. See above, p. 12. It was significant that the grand-duke of Muscovy, whose subjects owed their Christianity and such culture as they possessed to the Greeks, should now revive and continue the title of cæsar (in its Russian form, tsar or czar).

grand duke into a tsar, or emperor. Simultaneously the Ivans freed Russia from the payment of tribute to Mongols and Tatars, and in 1582 Russia was freed from ecclesiastical dependence on the patriarch of Constantinople.<sup>1</sup> Thenceforth Moscow was alike the political and the religious capital of the tsars and of their expanding empire.

For two centuries after the time of Ivan the Great, however, Russia remained a distinctly backward country. Her commercial and cultural contacts with western Christendom were comparatively few and infrequent. She was untouched by the rise of capitalism, the religious upheaval, the new learning, or the scientific development, which profoundly affected the countries of western and central Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Not until the time of Peter the Great, in the eighteenth century, did Russia enter the general family of European nations and assume an important part in international relations. Nevertheless, during the two centuries which separated the reigns of Ivan the Great and Peter the Great the way was solidly paved for the subsequent, almost startling, rise of the powerful Russian Empire of northern and eastern Europe.

The most fundamental of these occurrences was the expansion of the Russian people. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth

centuries the farming folk of the region about Moscow were emigrating south and east and establishing themselves in the fertile plains of the Don and the

Volga.<sup>2</sup> A glance at a physical map of Russia will show how the network of rivers and the comparatively level character of the country facilitated this process of national expansion. The gentle southerly flowing Dnieper, Don, and Volga, radiating from the same central region, and connected by way of the northern Kama with the headwaters of the Dvina, which empties into the White Sea in the extreme north, became chief channels of trade and migration, and contributed much more to the elaboration of national unity than any political institutions. Boats could be conveyed over flat and easy portages from one river-basin to another, and with a relatively small amount of

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 192-193.

<sup>2</sup> Armies of the tsar backed up the colonists: they occupied Kazan in 1552 and Astrakhan, near the Caspian Sea, in 1554.

## THE RISE OF RUSSIA

labor these portages were gradually changed into navigable channels, which served as highly convenient arteries of commerce.

As the emigrants threaded their way along the river courses and over the broad plains, they had to be constantly on the alert against attacks of native tribesmen, and they accordingly organized themselves in semi-military fashion. Those in the vanguard of territorial expansion constituted a peculiar class known as Cossacks, who, like frontiersmen of other times and places, for example, like those that gained for the United States its vast western domain, lived an adventurous life in which agricultural and pastoral pursuits were mingled with hunting and fighting. In the basins of the southern rivers, the Cossacks formed semi-independent military communities: those of the Volga and the Don professed allegiance to the tsar of Muscovy, while those of the Dnieper usually recognized the sovereignty of the king of Poland.

Nor was the migration of the Russian nationality restricted to Europe. The division between Europe and Asia is largely imaginary, as another glance at the map will prove.

The low-lying Urals are a barrier only toward the north, while southward the plains of Russia stretch on interminably above the Caspian until they are merged in the steppes of Siberia. Across these plains moved a steady stream of Cossacks and peasants and adventurers, carrying with them the habits and traditions of their Russian homes. Ever eastward wended the emigrants. They founded Tobolsk in 1587 and Tomsk in 1604; they established Yakutsk on the Lena River in 1632, and Irkutsk on Lake Baikal in 1652; in 1638 they reached the Sea of Okhotsk, and, by the close of the seventeenth century, they occupied the peninsula of Kamchatka and looked upon the broad Pacific. Early in the eighteenth century they crossed the Bering Sea, appropriated Alaska, and penetrated southward along the American continent into what is now California. It thus transpired that at the time when the Spaniards were extending their speech and laws in South America and the English were laying the foundations for the predominance of their institutions in North America, the Russians were appropriating northern Asia and demonstrating that, with them at least, the course of empire takes its way eastward.

Then, too, wherever the Russians settled, they retained their

Russians  
in Asia

language and national customs and their loyalty to Orthodox Christianity. Expansion of the Russian people meant extension of the Russian church, and with this extension the sway of the tsars tended to keep pace. By military and ecclesiastical agents, the tsars exercised their control over widening territories of the Russian people. With national pride and religious fervor, the distant emigrants regarded their tsars at Moscow.

**Relatively Few Contacts of Russia with Western Europe** Yet this greater Russia remained essentially Oriental. Its form of Christianity was derived from the East rather than from the West. Its social customs savored more of Asia than of Europe. Its nobles and even its tsars were rated by western Christendom as little better than barbarians. In fact, the Russian state was looked upon in the seventeenth century in much the same way as China was regarded in the nineteenth century.

For an understanding of this relative backwardness of Russia, account should be taken of certain special circumstances. In the first place, the religion of the state was a direct heritage of the expiring Eastern Empire and was different from either the Catholicism or the Protestantism of western Europe. Secondly, long and close contact with the conquering Mongols or Tartars of Asia had saturated the Russian people with Oriental customs and habits.<sup>1</sup> Thirdly, the nature of the country tended to exalt agriculture and to discourage industry and foreign commerce, and at the same time to turn emigration and expansion eastward rather than westward. Finally, so long as the neighboring states of Sweden, Poland, and the Ottoman Empire remained powerful and retained the entire coast of the Baltic and Black seas, Russia was deprived of seaports that would enable her to engage in traffic with western Europe and thus to partake of the common culture of Christendom.<sup>2</sup>

Not until Russia was modernized and westernized, and had made considerable headway against one or all of her western neighbors, could she hope to become a European power. Not until the accession of the Romanov dynasty did she enter seriously upon this twofold policy.

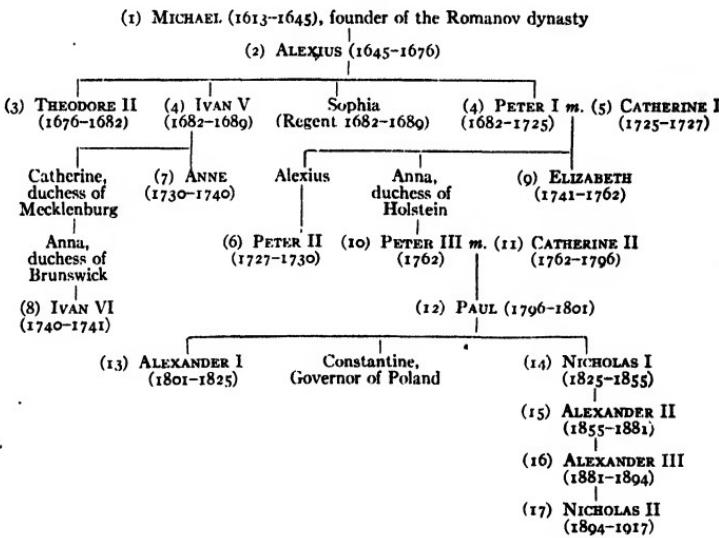
<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> In the sixteenth century, the province of Karelia, on the Baltic, had been held by Russian tsars, but it was conquered for Sweden by Gustavus Adolphus (see above, p. 268) and confirmed in Swedish possession by treaties of 1617 and 1661.

The direct line of Ivan the Great had died out at the close of the sixteenth century, and there ensued what in Russian history is known as "the troubrous times." Disputes over the succession led to a series of civil wars, and the consequent anarchy invited foreign intervention. For a time the Poles harassed the country and even occupied the Kremlin, or citadel, of Moscow. The Swedes, also, took advantage of the troubrous times in Russia to enlarge their conquests on the eastern shore of the Baltic and to seize the important trading centre of Novgorod. In the south, the Ottoman

*The  
"Trou-  
bles  
Times" in  
Russia*

### THE ROMANOV SOVEREIGNS OF RUSSIA



Turks warred with the Cossacks and strengthened their own hold on the Crimean principality.

Under these discouraging circumstances a great national assembly convened at Moscow in 1613 to elect a tsar, and its choice fell upon one of the Russian nobles, a certain Michael Romanov, whose family had been connected by marriage ties with the medieval royal line. It is an interesting fact that the subsequent autocrats of Russia were

*Accession  
of the  
Romanovs*

lineal descendants of the Romanov who was thus popularly elected to supreme authority in 1613.

Michael Romanov was no genius, but with the aid of his father (who was Orthodox patriarch of Moscow) he re-established order and security throughout the country and successfully resisted foreign encroachments. He founded several fortified towns in the south against the Tartars and the Turks. He recovered Novgorod from the Swedes. During the reign of his son, Polish depredations were stopped and the Dnieper River was fixed upon as the general dividing line between Poland and Russia.<sup>1</sup>

The grandson of Michael Romanov was the celebrated Peter the Great, who may rightfully be designated as the father of modern Russia. An older and half-witted brother, **Peter the Great**, with whom during his youth he was nominally associated in the government, died without leaving direct male heirs, and Peter became sole ruler in 1696. From the outset he showed an insatiable curiosity about the arts and sciences of western Europe, the authority of its kings, and the organization of its armies and fleets. To an intense curiosity, Peter added an indomitable will. He was resolved to satisfy his every curiosity and to utilize whatever he learned or found.

From childhood, Peter had displayed an aptitude for mechanical tools and inventions and especially for boat-making. Ship-building and ship-sailing became his favorite pastimes. When he was barely twenty-one, he launched at Archangel, on the ice-bound White Sea, a ship which he had built with his own hands. Now in 1696, being sole tsar at the age of twenty-four, he fitted out a fleet which defeated the Turks on the Black Sea and allowed him to capture the valuable port of Azov. No other successes were gained, however, in this Turkish war; and the young tsar began to perceive that if he were to succeed in his cherished project he would have to obtain western aid. In 1697, therefore, a special commission left Moscow to solicit the co-operation of the principal powers against the Ottoman Empire, and to this commission the young tsar attached himself as a volunteer sailor, "Peter Mikhailov," in order that he might incidentally learn much about ship-building and other technical crafts.

<sup>1</sup> By the treaty of Andrusovo (1667), Poland ceded to Russia Kiev, Smolensk, and eastern Ukraine.

In its primary purpose, the Russian commission failed significantly. Western Europe was on the eve of the War of the Spanish Succession,<sup>1</sup> and all its sovereigns seemed to be engrossed in the distractions of dynastic politics. No help against the Turks was forthcoming. But personally Peter learned many useful things. In Holland he studied ship-building as well as anatomy and engraving. In England he investigated industry and commerce. He closely scrutinized the military establishment of Prussia. In all places which he visited he collected artisans, sailors, engineers, and other workmen, whom he sent back to Russia to instruct his people.

While he was on his way from Vienna to Venice, news reached him that the royal bodyguard, the *streltsi*, had taken advantage of his absence of a year and a half and had mutinied at Moscow. In hot haste he hurried home and wreaked characteristic vengeance upon the mutineers. Two thousand were hanged or were broken on the wheel, five thousand were beheaded, and Peter for many days amused himself and edified his court by the wonderful dexterity with which he sliced off the heads of *streltsi* with his own royal arm. The severe punishment of the rebellious *streltsi* and the immediate abolition of their military organization was clear evidence that Peter was fully determined both to break with the past traditions of his country and to compel all the Russian people to do likewise.

The reign of Peter the Great was noteworthy for the removal of serious checks upon the power of the tsar and the definitive establishment of that form of monarchical absolutism which in Russia has been called autocracy. By ambition and will-power, the tsar was qualified to play the rôle of despot, and his observation of the absolutist government of Louis XIV convinced him that that kind of government was the most suitable for Russia.

Peter was a thoroughgoing despotic militarist, and his first care was the creation of a powerful standing army for Russia. Recruited from the Russian masses, and officered and disciplined by foreigners dependent entirely upon the tsar, the new army replaced the *streltsi* and proved a potent factor in executing the domestic and foreign policies of Peter the Great. Indeed, it was this new army which

Autocracy  
in State

Autocracy  
and Mili-  
tarism

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 306-300.

308  
was Peter's chief concern throughout his reign and the instrument of all his "reforms."

To cover the enormous expenses of his new military establishment, Peter acquired the habit of taking money wherever he found it. Unable to obtain sufficient funds through the old agencies of local and central government in Russia, he proceeded to ignore and then to destroy all those agencies. In place of them, he merely divided his empire into a certain number of "governments" ("gubernii")—or provinces—over each of which he put an army officer with the principal duty of extorting from the inhabitants enough money to maintain their specified quota of regiments.

Peter's replacement of the independent, turbulent *streltsi* with a loyal and orderly standing army was one important step in the direction of autocracy. Another was the subordination of the church to the tsar. The tsar understood the very great influence which the Orthodox Church exerted over the Russian people and the danger to his policies which ecclesiastical opposition might create. He was naturally anxious **Autocracy in Church** that the church should become the ally, not the enemy, of autocracy. He, therefore, took such steps as would exalt the church in the opinion of his countrymen and at the same time would render it a serviceable agent of the government. On the one hand, he professed a burning enthusiasm for the tenets of the Orthodox faith and harried Russian heretics and dissenters with fire and sword.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, he subjected the Orthodox Church to his own authority; he deprived the patriarch of Moscow of the headship of the ecclesiastical organization and vested all powers of church government in a body, the Holy Synod, whose members were bishops and whose chief was a layman, all chosen by the tsar himself. No appointment to ecclesiastical office could be made without the approval of the Holy Synod; no sermon could be preached and

<sup>1</sup> The most numerous "dissenters" in Russia were the "Old Believers," who broke away from the Orthodox Church in the second half of the seventeenth century when a patriarch of Moscow made some slight changes in the liturgy. The Old Believers were thoroughly reactionary and were as hostile to Protestantism as to any reform in the Orthodox Church. They were quite scandalized by the "reforms" of Peter the Great and became his chief political and religious adversaries; he and succeeding tsars persecuted them, but they remained fairly numerous throughout modern times. In 1905 they were said to number twelve millions.

no book could be published unless it had received the sanction of that august body. The authority which the tsar thereby obtained over the Orthodox Church in Russia was as complete and far-reaching as that which Henry VIII had acquired, two centuries earlier, over the Anglican Church. The results were in keeping with Peter's fondest expectations, for the Orthodox Church in Russia speedily became the right-hand support of the tsardom. The tsars exalted the church as the source of order and holiness; as a veritable ark of the covenant the clergy magnified and extolled the autocracy.

Under Peter the Great, Russian society was revolutionized. On the one hand, he swamped the old (and presumably independent) medieval nobility of Russia by ennobling a very large number of families which did conspicuous military service for him, with the result that a new uniform class of "gentry" appeared, possessing most of the land and devoted to the army and the autocratic tsardom.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the various kinds of free and unfree peasants—the mass of the Russian people—were put more rigorously under the domination of the gentry and were reduced to a uniform position of serfdom which was not far removed from slavery. Peter the Great, more than any other person, was responsible for the peculiar structure of society which existed in Russia from his day to the twentieth century.

Of traditional civil government, Peter the Great was a destroyer rather than a reformer. Yet he foreshadowed the kind of civil government which Russia was to have during the ensuing two centuries. At the head of the state was the tsar or emperor, possessing absolute, unlimited powers. The medieval assembly, or duma, of great nobles, which had formerly exercised some legislative rights, was practically abolished; its place was taken by an advisory council of state whose members were selected by the tsar. Most traces of local self-government were similarly swept away, and the country was administered by the tsar's personal agents. To enforce his autocratic will, he relied upon his new army and his new gentry. The tsar encountered a good deal of opposition to these,

Nobility  
and  
Peasantry

Autocracy  
in Gov-  
ernment

<sup>1</sup> In 1700, before Peter's "reforms" there were 2,985 noble families in Russia. In 1737, after his "reforms," there were 100,000 noble families, comprising 500,000 male nobles, of whom 200,000 were officials.

as to all his other "reforms," and for a while he was obliged to depend largely on foreigners to carry them out. As soon as possible, however, Peter employed natives, especially his newly ennobled gentry, for it was a cardinal point in his policy that Russia must be managed by its own upper classes without foreign interference or help.

Like his contemporaries in western Europe, Peter gave considerable attention to the economic condition of the monarchy.

**Westernizing Russia** He strove, usually in a bungling manner, to promote agriculture. Moreover, he understood that Russia grievously lacked a numerous and prosperous middle class, and he aimed to create one by encouraging trade and industries. He undertook to establish some state-owned industries and to man them with serfs whom he requisitioned from the gentry. He also had an idea of introducing the guild system from Germany into Russia. Yet his almost constant preoccupation with the army and participation in wars, prevented him from bringing his economic plans to fruition.

Almost from the beginning, Peter the Great was resolved to make the Russian people look like Europeans. He at least would change their clothing and manners from Oriental to Occidental. With this end in view, edict followed edict with amazing rapidity. The chief potentates of the empire were solemnly assembled so that Peter with his own hand might shave off their long beards and flowing mustaches. A heavy tax was imposed on such as persisted in wearing beards. French or German clothes were to be substituted, under penalty of large fines, for the traditional Russian costume. The use of tobacco was made compulsory. The Oriental semi-seclusion of women was prohibited. Both sexes were to mingle freely in the festivities of the court. These innovations were largely superficial; they partially permeated the upper classes, but made little impression on the mass of the population. Peter had begun a work, however, which was to bear significant results in the future.

Internal reforms were but one half of Peter's ambitious programme. To him Russia owed not only the creation of a vast new militarism, the loss of the independence of the church, the revolutionizing of society, the Europeanization of manners and customs, and the firm establishment of autocracy, but also the development of elaborate plans of foreign aggrandize-

ment. On one hand, the tsar showed a lively interest in the exploration and colonization of Siberia and in the extension of Russian dominion around the Caspian Sea and towards Persia. On the other hand,—and this, for our present purposes, is far more important,—he was resolved to make the cultural and commercial connection between Russia and Europe strong and intimate, to open a way to the west by gaining outlets on both the Black and Baltic seas—“windows” to the west, as he termed them!

Peter's  
Foreign  
Policy

On the Baltic Sea, Sweden blocked him; toward the Black Sea, the Ottoman power hemmed him in. It was, therefore, against Sweden and the Ottoman Empire that Peter the Great waged war. It seemed to him a matter of dire necessity for the growth of European civilization in Russia that he should defeat one or both of these states. Against the Ottoman Turks, as the event proved, he made little headway; against the Swedes he fared better.

In order that we may understand the nature of the momentous conflict between Russia and Sweden in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, it will be necessary at this point to notice the parallel development of Sweden.

## 2. SWEDEN AND THE CAREER OF CHARLES XII

It will be recalled that a century before Peter the Great, the remarkable Gustavus Adolphus had aimed to make the Baltic a Swedish lake. To his own kingdom, lying along the western shore of that sea, and to the dependency of Finland, he had added by conquest the eastern provinces of Karelia, Ingria, Estonia, and Livonia,<sup>1</sup> and his intervention in the Thirty Years' War had given Sweden possession of western Pomerania and the mouths of the Elbe, Oder, and Weser rivers and a considerable influence in German affairs. For years after the death of Gustavus Adolphus, Sweden was the recognized leader of Continental Protestantism, and her trade on the Baltic grew and thrived. Exports of Russia and Poland found a convenient outlet through the Swedish port of Riga,

Sweden in  
the Seven-  
teenth  
Century

<sup>1</sup> Livonia, occupied by Gustavus Adolphus during the Polish War of 1621–1629, was not formally relinquished by Poland until 1660. Estonia had been conquered by the Swedes in 1561, but Russia did not renounce her pretensions to this province until 1617.

and those of northern Germany were most commonly shipped on Swedish vessels from Stettin or Stralsund.

Repeated efforts were made by Denmark, Poland, and Brandenburg to break the commercial monopoly which Sweden enjoyed upon the Baltic and to deprive her of her conquests, but for a long time in vain. Victory continued to attend Swedish arms and a general treaty in 1660 confirmed her dominion. At that time Sweden was not only a military power of the first magnitude but also one of the largest states of Europe, possessing about as much area as present-day Sweden and the modern German republic combined. All the islands and the greater part of the coast of the Baltic belonged to her. Stockholm, the capital, lay in the very centre of the empire, whose second city was Riga, on the other side of the sea. In politics, in religion, and in trade, Sweden was feared and respected.

Yet the greatness of Sweden in the seventeenth century was more apparent than real. Her commerce provoked the jealousy of all her neighbors. Her dependencies across the Baltic were difficult to hold: peopled by Finns, Estonians, Letts, Russians; Poles, Germans, and Danes, their bond with Sweden was essentially artificial, and they usually sympathized, naturally enough, with their sovereign's enemies. They, therefore, imposed on the mother country the duty of remaining a military monarchy, armed from head to foot for every possible emergency. For such a tremendous destiny Sweden was quite unfitted. Her wide territory was sparsely populated, and her peasantry were very poor. Only her close alliance with France gave Sweden a solid backing in Germany, and, with the decline of the fortunes of Louis XIV and the rise of Prussia and Russia, she was bound to lose her leadership in the North.

To the fate of Sweden, her rulers in the seventeenth century contributed no small share. Nearly all of them were born fighters and nearly all of them were neglectful of home interests and of the works of peace. The military instincts of the Swedish kings not only sacrificed thousands of lives that were urgently needed in building up their country and cost the kingdom enormous sums of money but likewise impaired commerce, surrounded the empire with a broad belt of desolated territory, and implanted an ineradicable hatred in every adjacent state. Then, too, the extravagance and negligence of the sovereigns led to chaos in do-

## THE RISE OF RUSSIA

mestic government. Taxes were heavy and badly apportioned. The nobles jealously reasserted themselves and recovered most of their political privileges. The royal power steadily dwindled away at the very time when it was most needed; and a selfish grasping aristocracy hastened the country's ruin.<sup>1</sup>

At length, in 1697, when Charles XII, a boy of fifteen years, ascended the throne of Sweden, the neighboring powers thought the time had arrived to partition his territories among themselves. Tsar Peter, while returning home the following year from his travels abroad, discussed with

Charles XII  
of Sweden

Augustus II, elector of Saxony and king of Poland, a plan which the latter had formed for the dismemberment of the Swedish Empire: Poland was to recover Livonia and annex Estonia; Russia was to obtain Ingria and Karelia and thereby a port on the Baltic; Brandenburg was to occupy western Pomerania; and Denmark was to take possession of Holstein and the mouths of the Elbe and Weser. Charles XII was to retain only his kingdom in the Scandinavian peninsula and the grand-duchy of Finland. At the last moment Brandenburg balked, but Saxony, Denmark, and Russia signed the menacing alliance in 1699. The allies expected quick and decisive victory. All western and southern Europe was on the verge of the great struggle for the Spanish inheritance<sup>2</sup> and would clearly be unable to prevent them from despoiling Sweden.

But the allies grossly underrated their foe. Charles XII was a mere boy, gloomy and sensitive, but precocious and endowed with all the martial determination and heroism of his ancestors. He desired nothing better than to fight against overwhelming odds, and the fury of the youthful commander soon earned him the sobriquet of the "madman of the North." The alliance of 1699 precipitated the Great Northern War which was to last until 1721 and slowly, but no less inevitably, reduce Sweden to the position of a third-rate power. It was amid the most spectacular exploits of the boy-king that the ruin of Sweden was accomplished. It was a grander but more tragic fate than in the same period befell Spain.

The Great  
Northern  
War

Charles XII did not give the allies time to unite. Hurriedly

<sup>1</sup> A reaction appeared under the capable Charles XI (1660-1697), but its fruits were completely lost by his son and successor, Charles XII.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 309-311.

## HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE

Passing the straits, he invaded Denmark, whose terrified king  
soon signed a treaty with him (1700), paying a large indemnity  
and engaging to keep peace in the future.

Thence Charles hastened across the Baltic to Estonia, in  
order to deal with the advancing Russians. At Narva he met  
and annihilated their army. Then he turned southward, clearing  
Livonia and Lithuania of Poles, Saxons, and Russians.

Into the very heart of Poland he carried the war, possessing  
himself of both Warsaw and Cracow. He obliged the Polish  
parliament to dethrone Augustus and to accept a king of his  
own choice in the person of Stanislaus Leszczynski (1704).<sup>1</sup>

All these things had been done by a young man between the  
age of seventeen and twenty-two. It was quite natural that he  
should be puffed up with pride in his ability and successes. It  
was almost as natural that, hardened at an early age to the  
horrors of war, he should become increasingly callous and cruel.  
Many instructions the impulsive youth sent out over conquered  
districts in Russia, Poland, and Saxony "to slay, burn, and  
destroy." "Better that the innocent suffer than that the guilty  
escape" was his favorite adage.

Small wonder, then, that neither Peter the Great nor the  
Elector Augustus would abandon the struggle. While Charles  
was overrunning Poland, Peter was reorganizing his army and  
occupying Karelia and Ingria; and when the Swedish king re-  
turned to engage the Russians, Augustus drove out Stanislaus  
and regained the crown of Poland. Yet Charles, with an unrea-  
soning stubbornness, would not perceive that the time had  
arrived for terminating the conflict with a few concessions.  
Russia at that time asked only a port on the Gulf of Finland as  
the price of an alliance with Sweden against Poland.

To all entreaties for peace, Charles XII turned a deaf ear,  
and pressed the war in Russia. Unable to take Moscow, he  
turned southward in order to effect a juncture with some rebel-  
lious Cossacks, but met the army of Peter the Great at Poltava  
(1709). Poltava marked the decisive triumph of Russia over  
Sweden. The Swedish army was destroyed, only a small num-  
ber being able to accompany their king in his flight across the  
southern Russian frontier into Turkish territory.

Then Charles stirred up the Turks to attack the tsar, but from

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 316-317.

the new contest he was himself unable to profit... Peter bought peace with the Ottoman sultan by re-ceding to him the town of Azov, and the sultan gradually tired of his guest's continual frantic clamor for war. After a sojourn of over five years in the Ottoman Empire, Charles suddenly and unexpectedly appeared, with but a single attendant, at Stralsund, which by that time was all that remained to him outside of Sweden and Finland.

Still, however, the war dragged on. The allies grew in numbers and in demands. Peter the Great and Augustus were again joined by the Danish king. Great Britain, Hanover, and Prussia, all covetous of Swedish trade or Swedish territory, were now members of the coalition. Charles XII stood adamant: he would retain all or he would lose all. So he stood until the last. It was while he was directing an invasion of Norway that the brilliant but ill-balanced Charles lost his life (1718); he was then but thirty-six years of age.

Peace, which had been impossible during the lifetime of Charles, became a reality soon after his death. It certainly came none too soon for the exhausted and enfeebled condition of Sweden. By the treaties of Stockholm (1719 and 1720), Sweden resigned all her German holdings except a small district of western Pomerania including the town of Stralsund. Denmark received Holstein and a money indemnity. Hanover gained the mouths of the Elbe and Weser. Prussia secured the mouth of the Oder and the important city of Stettin. Augustus was formally restored to the Polish throne, though without territorial gain. Great Britain, Denmark, and Prussia became the principal commercial heirs of Sweden.

The treaty of Nystad (1721) was the turning point for Russia, for thereby she acquired from Sweden full sovereignty over Karelia and Ingria, the important Baltic provinces of Estonia and Livonia, and a narrow strip of southern Finland including the strong fortress of Viborg. Peter the Great had thus realized his ambition of affording his country a "window to the west." On the waste marshes of the Neva he succeeded with enormous effort and sacrifice of life in founding a great city which should be a centre of commerce and a bond of connection between Russia and the western world. He named his new city St. Peters-

Treaties  
of Stock-  
holm

Treaty of  
Nystad

**Founding of St. Petersburg** burg.<sup>1</sup> Here were reared palatial offices and residences in the "classical" style of western Europe, rather than after the Byzantine models of old Moscow. And from Moscow hither was transferred the government of the Russian Empire. Russia supplanted Sweden in the leadership of northern Europe and assumed a place among the powers of the world.

Peter the Great did not realize his other ambition of securing a Russian port on the Black Sea. Although he captured and held Azov for a time, he was obliged to relinquish it, as we have seen, in order to prevent the Turks from joining hands with Charles XII.

Nevertheless, when Peter died in 1725, he left his empire a compact state, with a big army and a degraded peasantry, westernized at least superficially, and ready to play a conspicuous rôle in the international politics of Europe. The man who succeeded in doing all these things has been variously estimated. By some he has been represented as a monster of cruelty and a murderer,<sup>2</sup> by others as a demon of the grossest sensuality, by still others as a great national hero. Probably he merited all such opinions. But, above all, he was a genius of fierce energy and will, who toiled always for what he considered to be the welfare of his country.

### 3. CATHERINE THE GREAT: THE DISMEMBERMENT OF POLAND AND THE DEFEAT OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

It is hardly possible to feel much respect for the character of the Russian rulers who succeeded Peter the Great in the eighteenth century. Most of them were women with loose morals and ugly manners. But they had little to fear from Sweden, which, utterly exhausted, was now on a steady decline; and

<sup>1</sup> Known generally in the Teutonic form "St. Petersburg" from its foundation until the World War in 1914, when the Slavic form of "Petrograd" was substituted. Later, under Soviet auspices, it was renamed "Leningrad."

<sup>2</sup> Peter had his son and heir, the Grand-Duke Alexius, put to death because he did not sympathize with his reforms. The tsar's other punishments often assumed a most disgusting character.

domestic difficulties both in Poland and in the Ottoman Empire removed any apprehension of attacks from these countries. In policies of internal government, Peter had blazed a trail so clear and unmistakable that one would have difficulty in losing it.

Of those female sovereigns of the Russian Empire, the most notable was Catherine II, usually called Catherine the Great (1762-1796). By birth she was not a Russian, but a princess of Protestant Germany, whom dynastic considerations made the wife of the heir to the Russian crown.<sup>1</sup>

Catherine the Great  
No sooner was she in her adopted country than she set to work to ingratiate herself with its people. She learned the Russian language. She outwardly conformed to the Orthodox Church. She slighted her German relatives and surrounded herself with Russians. She established a reputation for quick wit and lofty patriotism. So great was her success that when her half-insane husband ascended the throne as Peter III in 1762, the people looked to her rather than to him as the real ruler, and before the year was over she had managed to make away with him and to become sovereign in name as well as in fact. For thirty-four years Catherine was tsarina of Russia. Immoral to the last, without conscience or scruple, she ruled the country with a firm hand and consummated the work of Peter the Great.

In the administrative system Catherine reorganized the "governments" and "districts," divisions and subdivisions of Russia, over which she placed governors and vice-governors respectively, all appointed by the central authority. To the ecclesiastical alterations of Peter, she added the secularization of church property, thereby making the clergy completely dependent upon her bounty and strengthening the autocracy.

The tsarina was certainly a despot, and she wished her contemporaries to regard her as an "enlightened" despot, like Frederick II of Prussia or Joseph II of Austria.<sup>2</sup> She took some

<sup>1</sup> The marriage was arranged by Frederick the Great in order to minimize Austrian influence at St. Petersburg. See above, pp. 343-344.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 346-352.

personal interest in the literary and scientific progress of the age. She wrote flattering letters to Voltaire and invited Diderot to tutor her son. She established several schools and academies and encouraged the upper classes in Russia to use French as the language of polite society. She sent Russian princes to England to observe the latest experiments with the "new agriculture."<sup>1</sup>

At heart, however, Catherine was little moved by desire for reform or by pity for the peasants. She had the heavy whip—the knout—applied to the bare backs of earnest reformers, and she did nothing to relieve the poverty or to lessen the ignorance of the masses. To the governor of Moscow, she expounded her true thought on the subject of popular education: "My dear prince, do not complain that the Russians have no desire for instruction; if I institute schools, it is not for us,—it is for Europe, where we must keep our position in public opinion. But the day when our peasants shall wish to become enlightened, both you and I will lose our places."

Yet this obviously insincere and scandalously immoral woman pursued a strong and brilliantly successful foreign policy. She made herself (and Russia) seem "enlightened" to the statesmen and philosophers of the age, and by war and conquest she actually made Russia a great power in Europe.

Of the three foreign countries which at the beginning of the eighteenth century blocked the European expansion of Russia,

**Catherine's Foreign Policy** Sweden had been humbled and shorn of Baltic provinces by Peter the Great in the Great Northern War and the ensuing treaty of Nystad (1721). Poland and the Ottoman Empire remained to be dealt with by Catherine the Great, and she dealt with them effectually. Let us see what had lately transpired to render her task comparatively easy.

**Poland in the Eighteenth Century** Poland had been a large and important national state since the sixteenth century.<sup>2</sup> It represented a geographic unit, embracing the whole watershed of the Vistula (and including what is called nowadays the "Polish corridor," down to the Baltic). It represented, moreover, a union and partial fusion of three nationalities—Poles, Lithuanians, and Letts. The Letts (Latvians) of Courland had been annexed in 1561, and in 1569 the previously separate par-

<sup>1</sup> On the contemporary "agricultural revolution" in England, see below, pp. 466-468.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 37.

liaments and administrations of Poland and Lithuania had been united in much the same way as afterwards, in 1707, the governments of England and Scotland were united. During the seventeenth century, the unified Polish state played a conspicuous military rôle. It then contested Baltic ports with Sweden, interfered in Russia, helped the Austrian Habsburgs to defend Vienna against the Turks (1683), and extended its own frontiers southeastward at the expense of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>1</sup>

With the expansion of the Polish state, the jealousy of its neighbors was aroused, and by the eighteenth century certain internal weaknesses manifested themselves. Relative to its geographical extent, its population was sparse and its public wealth slight. It encountered increasing difficulty in raising and maintaining armies of sufficient size and effectiveness to cope with the newer military establishments of Prussia, Russia, and Austria; and against attacks of these militaristic powers Poland lacked natural as well as artificial fortifications. Her land was wide and flat, unprotected by mountains and almost inviting foreign invasion.

Then, too, there were troublesome minorities within Poland. The large majority of the population was Polish in language and nationality and Catholic in religion. Part of the country, however, was peopled by Lithuanians, who, though mainly Catholic like the Poles, constituted a national minority. In many of the towns, moreover, were considerable settlements of Jews, who were treated, and wished to be treated, as a separate nation. Besides, in the southeastern districts were numerous Ruthenians (Ukrainians) and Russian Cossacks, who were non-Polish in speech and Orthodox in religion, while in the western towns and Baltic provinces was an appreciable number of Protestant Germans. A degree of religious toleration had been accorded in the sixteenth century to the "dissenters," as the Orthodox and Protestant minorities were termed,<sup>2</sup> but these were not satisfied; in the eighteenth century they demanded from the Catholic majority an equality which at the time existed in no other country of Europe, and when it was not forthcoming they appealed for assistance to foreign powers—the Protestants to the king of Prussia, the Orthodox to the tsar of Russia. A Frederick the

<sup>1</sup> On this "last crusade" and its Polish hero, Sobieski, see above, pp. 326-327.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 205.

Grand and Catherine the Great, though not famed for personal piety, were quite willing to heed such appeals.

The social and political conditions in Poland were particularly bad. By the end of the seventeenth century, Swedish commercial control of the Baltic had inflicted grave hardships on the economic life of Poland. Her cities were not growing and her middle class was declining in wealth and numbers. The one class which retained an eminent social position was the nobility, and the Polish nobles, as a class, were too much given to feuds and factional fights to present a united front to any foreign enemy. Yet the nobles owned the land, lived prodigally, looked out selfishly for their own economic advantage, and depressed the peasantry into an ever more miserable condition. With a grasping, quarrelsome nobility on one hand, and an oppressed peasantry on the other, social solidarity, the best guaranty of political independence, was notably lacking.

A strong national government might have done something to remedy the social ills, but at the very time when monarchical absolutism was being established in every other country of Continental Europe, the Polish government was becoming almost anarchical. Since the sixteenth century, the monarchy in Poland had been elective. As a result the reign of every sovereign was disfigured by foreign intrigues and domestic squabbles over the choice of his successor. The noble electors were able not only to secure liberal bribes but to wring from the elect such concessions as gradually reduced the kingship to an ornamental figure-head. Most of the later kings were foreigners who used what little power was left to them in furtherance of their native interests rather than for the welfare of Poland. Thus the kings in the first half of the eighteenth century were German electors of Saxony, who owed their new position to the interested friendship of Austria, Prussia, or Russia, and to the large sums of money which they lavished upon the Polish magnates. These same Saxon rulers cheerfully applied Polish resources to their German projects.

Another peculiarity of the Polish constitution was the famous "liberum veto," a kind of gentlemen's agreement among the magnates, that no law would be enacted by the parliament if a single member felt it was prejudicial to his interests, and objected. In the course of the seventeenth century the prin-

ciple of the *liberum veto* had been so far extended as to entail the right of any one of the ten thousand noblemen of Poland to refuse to obey a law which he had not approved. This amounted to anarchism. And anarchism, however beautiful it might appear as an ideal, was hardly a trustworthy weapon with which to oppose the greedy, hard-hearted, despotic monarchs who governed the surrounding countries.

The Ottoman Empire was not in such sore straits as Poland, but its power and prestige were obviously waning. In other places we have explained how, after an amazing succession of spectacular triumphs, the tide of Moslem Turkish conquest had gradually turned; how the sea-power of the Ottoman Empire suffered a serious reverse from Spain and Venice at the battle of Lepanto (1571);<sup>1</sup> how, as a result of the "last crusade" and the treaty of Karlowitz (1699), the Ottoman Empire was compelled to surrender all Hungary to the Austrian Habsburgs.<sup>2</sup>

*The Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century*

The reasons for the waning of the Ottoman Empire are to be sought, however, less in the inherent strength of its neighbors than in its own internal weakness. Domestic, not foreign, difficulties prepared the way for its subsequent shrinkage.

It should be borne in mind that the Moslem Turks never constituted a majority of the population of their European possessions. They were essentially a body of conquerors. In frenzies of religious or martial enthusiasm, inspired with the idea that Divine Providence was using them as agents for the spread of Islam, they had fought valiantly with the sword or had taken clever advantage of their enemies' quarrels to plant over wide areas the crescent in place of the cross. In the conquered regions, the native Christian peoples were reduced to serfdom, and the Turkish conquerors became great landholders and the official class.<sup>3</sup> To extend, even to maintain, such an artificial order of things, the Turks would be obliged to keep their military organization always at the highest pitch of excellence and to preserve their government from weakness and corruption. In neither of these respects did the Turks ultimately succeed.

The sultans of the eighteenth century were not of the stuff of which a Mohammed II or a Suleiman the Magnificent had been

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 259-260.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 326-327.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 15-16.

made. To the grim risks of battle they preferred the cushioned ease of the palace, and all their powers of administration and government were quite consumed in the management of the household and the harem. Actual authority was gradually transferred to the divan, or board of ministers, whose appointments or dismissals were the results of palace intrigues, sometimes petty but more often bloody. Corruption ate its way through the entire office-holding element of the Ottoman Empire. Positions were bought and sold from the divan down to the obscure village, and office seemed to exist primarily for financial profit and, secondarily as a means of oppressing the subject peoples.

The army, on which so much in the Ottoman Empire depended, naturally reflected the demoralized condition of the government. While Peter the Great was organizing a powerful army in Russia, and Frederick the Great was perfecting the Prussian military machine, the Ottoman army steadily declined. It failed to keep pace with the development of tactics and of firearms in western Europe, and fell behind the times. The all-prevalent corruption ruined its discipline, and its best organized portion—the “janizaries”—became the masters rather than the servants of the sultans and of the whole Turkish government.

It was the fortune of the Russian tsarina—Catherine the Great—to appreciate the real weakness of both the Ottoman Empire and the kingdom of Poland and to turn her neighbors' distress to the advantage of her own country.

No sooner had Catherine secured the Russian crown and by her inactivity permitted Frederick the Great to bring the Seven

**Russian  
Interfer-  
ence in  
Poland**      Years' War to a successful issue,<sup>1</sup> than the death of Augustus III, elector of Saxony and king of Poland, gave her an opportunity to interfere in Polish affairs.

She was not content with the Saxon line which was more or less under Austrian influence. With the astute aid of Frederick, she induced the Polish nobles to elect one of her own courtiers and favorites, Stanislaus Poniatowski, who thus in 1764 became Stanislaus II, the last king of an independent Poland.

With the accession of Stanislaus II, the predominance of Russia was established in Poland. Russia entered into a sordid

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 343-344.

agreement with Prussia to uphold the anarchical constitution of the unhappy and victimized country. When patriotic Poles made efforts—as they now frequently did—to reform their government, to abolish the *liberum veto*, and to strengthen the state, they found their attempts thwarted by the allies either by force of arms or by bribes of money. Feuds among the Polish nobles, together with complaints of religious discrimination, afforded sufficient ~~pretexts~~ for the intervention of the neighboring powers, especially Prussia and Russia.

A popular insurrection of Polish Catholics against the intolerable meddling of foreigners was crushed by the troops of Catherine, with the single result that the Russians, in pursuing some fleeing insurgents across the southern frontier, violated Turkish territory and precipitated a war between the Ottoman Empire and Russia.

This Turkish War lasted from 1768 to 1774. The Ottoman government was profoundly alarmed by the Russian foreign policy. It believed that the intrigues in Poland would end in the annexation of that state to Russia and the consequent upsetting of the balance of power in the East. Once Poland was disposed of, the turn of Turkey would come next. The Turks, moreover, were egged on by the French government, which, anxious also to preserve the balance of power and to defend the liberties of Poland, was financially too embarrassed to undertake a great war against Prussia and Russia.

The war between Russia and the Ottoman Empire fully confirmed the belief that the power of the latter was waning. The Turkish troops, badly armed and badly led, suffered a series of defeats. The Russians again occupied Azov, which Peter the Great had been compelled to relinquish; they overran the Rumanian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia; they seized Bucharest; and they seemed likely to cross the Danube and enter the Balkan peninsula. Catherine went so far as to fan a revolt among the Greek subjects of the sultan.

At length, in 1774, the treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji was concluded between the belligerents. It was a landmark both in the expansion of the Russian Empire, and in the contraction of the Ottoman Empire. By its provisions, (1) the latter form-

Russian  
War  
against  
the Otto-  
man  
Empire

## EXPANSION OF EUROPEAN RUSSIA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

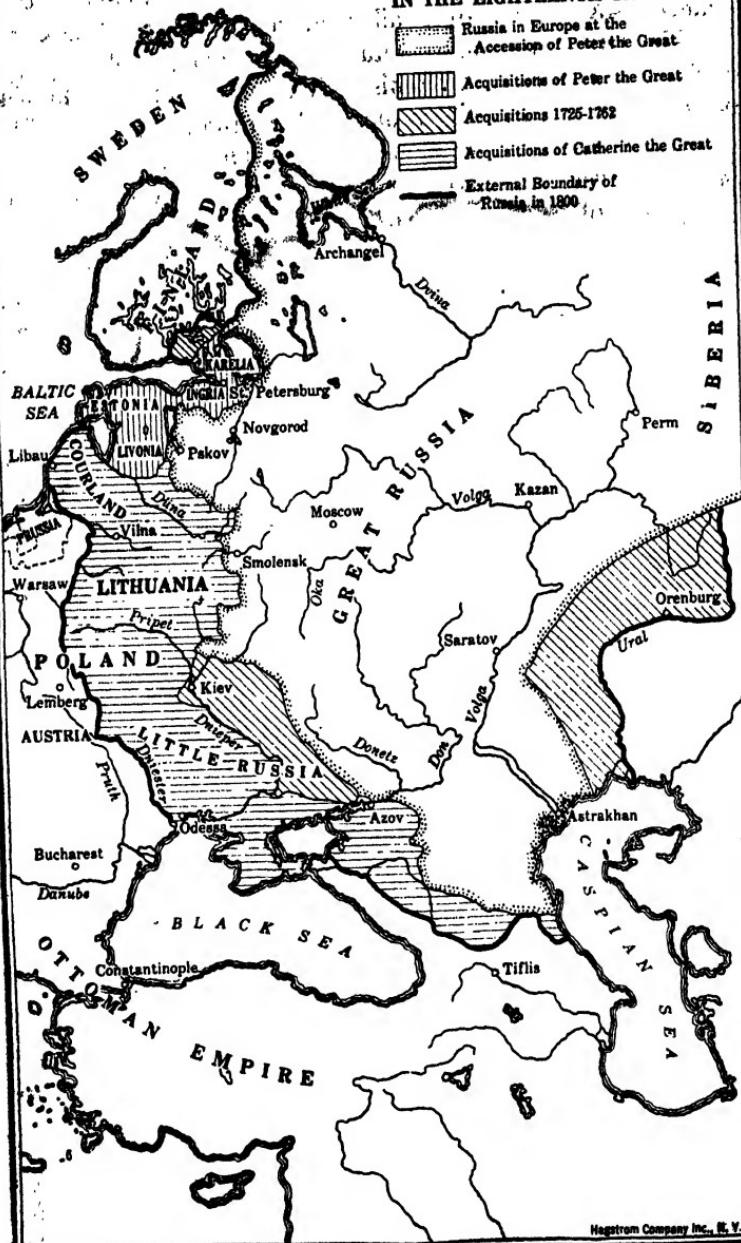
## Russia in Europe at the Accession of Peter the Great

## Acquisitions of Peter the Great

Acquisitions 1725-1762

## Acquisitions of Catherine the Great

External Boundary of  
Russia in 1800.



ally ceded Azov and adjacent territory to Russia and renounced sovereignty over all land north of the Black Sea; (2) The Ottoman Empire retained Wallachia, Moldavia, and Greece, but promised that they should be better governed; (3) Russia obtained the right of free navigation for her merchant ships in Ottoman waters; and (4) Russia was recognized as the protector of certain churches in the city of Constantinople.

Treaty of  
Kuchuk  
Kainarji

Within a few years after the signature of the treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji, Catherine established Russian control over the various Tartar principalities north of the Black Sea, whose sovereignty the sultan had renounced. By a supplementary agreement in 1792, the Dniester River was made the boundary between the Russian and Ottoman empires.<sup>1</sup>

The policy of Catherine the Great in respect of the Ottoman Empire bore three significant results. In the first place, Russia acquired a natural boundary in southern Europe, and became the chief power on the Black Sea. Her ships might now pass freely through the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles out into the Mediterranean to trade with western Europe. Russia's second "window to the west" was gained. In the second place, Russia was henceforth looked upon as the natural ally and friend of oppressed Christian nationalities within the realm of the Moslem Turks. Finally, the special clause conferring on Russia the protectorate of certain churches in Constantinople afforded her a pretext for a later claim to protect Christians throughout the Ottoman lands and consequently to interfere incessantly in Turkish affairs. After the treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji, the Ottoman Empire declined with ever-increasing rapidity, and Russia became an eager candidate for a liberal share of the spoils.

Even while Catherine the Great was engaged in war with the Ottoman Empire, she had not lost sight of her Polish policy. Frederick the Great had doubtless hoped that she would, in order that he might be free to direct a distribution of territory entirely satisfactory to himself and to Prussia. But the wily tsarina was never so immersed

The First  
Partition  
of Poland

<sup>1</sup> The treaty of 1792 concluded a war which Catherine, in alliance with Joseph II of Austria, waged against the Ottoman Empire. Austria got nothing from the war. See above, p. 351.

in other matters that she neglected Russian ambitions in Poland. In 1772, therefore, she joined with Frederick and with Maria Theresa of Austria in making the first partition of Poland. Russia took all the country which lay east of the Düna and Dnieper rivers. Prussia took West Prussia except the town of Danzig. Austria took Galicia, except the city of Cracow.<sup>1</sup> In all, Poland was deprived of about a fourth of her territory, a fifth of her population, and almost a half of her wealth. The Polish nationality no longer had a common state or a common sovereign.

The partition of 1772 sobered many of the Polish magnates and brought them to perceive the necessity of radical political reform. Yet every effort which they made in this direction was rendered abortive by the shameful and hypocritical attitude of the neighboring sovereigns. For another twenty-one years the wretched country struggled on, a victim of selfish foreign tutelage. Although both Frederick and Maria Theresa died in the interval, their successors proved quite as willing to coöperate with the implacable tsarina. In 1793 Russia and Prussia effected a

*Later Partitions of Poland* second partition of Poland, and in 1795, following a last desperate attempt of the Poles to establish a new government, Austria joined Russia and Prussia in the third and final dismemberment of the unhappy country. Desperately did the Polish patriotic leader, Kosciuszko, try to stem the tide of invasion which poured in from all sides. His few forces, in spite of great valor, were no match for the veteran allies, and the defense was vain. "Freedom shrieked when Kosciuszko fell." King Stanislaus II resigned his crown and betook himself to St. Petersburg. Poland ceased to exist as an independent state.<sup>2</sup>

By the partitions of 1793 and 1795, Austria obtained the upper valley of the Vistula, and Prussia the lower, including the city of Warsaw, while the rest of Poland,—the major share—went to Russia. Ruthenia (or Ukrainia) and almost the whole of Lithuania thus passed into the hands of the tsarina. Russia thenceforth bordered immediately on Prussia and Austria and

<sup>1</sup> On this "first partition" of Poland, see also above, pp. 344-345.

<sup>2</sup> The second and third partitions of Poland were effected in the midst of a European situation which was complicated by the French Revolution. For a fuller treatment of them, see below, pp. 700, 703.

became geographically a vital member of the European family of nations.

Catherine the Great died in 1796. She thus survived her friend and confederate, Frederick the Great, by a decade, and the final partition of Poland by a year. If it can be said of Peter that he made Russia a European power, it can be affirmed with equal truth that Catherine made Russia a great power. The eighteenth century had witnessed a marvellous growth of the Russian Empire in Europe. It had acquired territory and a capital on the Baltic. It had secured valuable ports on the Black Sea. Its boundaries had been extended westward into the very centre of the Continent. It now embraced, not only Russians, but Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Letts, and Poles.

The rise of Russia was at the expense of her neighbors. Sweden had surrendered her eastern provinces and lost her control of the Baltic. The Ottoman Empire had been forced to yield its monopoly of the shores and trade of the Black Sea. Poland had disappeared from the map.



## CHAPTER IX

### THE RISE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

#### I. FOUNDATIONS OF BRITISH COMMERCE, COLONIES, AND CAPITALISM



IEWING the European states of the eighteenth century, we must point out that, simultaneously with the emergence of Prussia and Russia as great military powers on the Continent, England (joined with Scotland as the kingdom of Great Britain) became the foremost commercial and colonial power in the world. For

England to reach this preëminence, it had taken two centuries and successive struggles with Spain, the Netherlands, and France.

Back in the sixteenth century, England, as we have seen, was a second-rate power.<sup>1</sup> Its wealth was slight compared with that of the Netherlands. Its population was very much less than the population of France. Its armed forces were far fewer than those of Spain. In Europe, it appeared of less importance than Portugal or Poland. And from overseas trade and settlement it was legally debarred by the prior discoveries of Portuguese and Spaniards and by the papal decree which had divided the non-European world between Spain and Portugal.

Yet in that same sixteenth century the foundations were laid for the later economic supremacy of England. The Tudor sovereigns of the time, from Henry VII to Elizabeth, patriotically pursued national interests. The wholesale confiscation of ecclesiastical property and the accompanying process of "enclosing" landed estates and transforming them into noblemen's private property served to enrich certain Englishmen and to provide capital for foreign ventures. The introduction of Calvinistic ethics into England and Scotland stimulated the growth of a capitalistic spirit. The absence of protracted and destructive

England  
in the  
Sixteenth  
Century

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 28-30, 224, 238-240, 251-254.

civil wars, such as troubled France and the Netherlands and almost ruined Germany, and the aloofness from dynastic struggles (unless participation was directly advantageous to economic interests) afforded England ample opportunity to devote her resources to commerce and money-making. Besides, the championship of a distinctively national type of Protestantism provided the emotional impulse and the convenient slogans for ranging the mass of Englishmen in support of their sovereigns, adventurers, and capitalists against such a power as that of Catholic Spain. Altogether, England was in a peculiarly favorable position to take advantage of the misfortunes of older and seemingly stronger colonial powers.

Though the discovery of the North American continent by Cabot toward the close of the fifteenth century had been patronized by the English King Henry VII, the English did not immediately exploit the discovery; and, for a time, they sat idly by while Spain proceeded to colonize and monopolize the trade of the greater part of America, and Portugal did likewise in Brazil, Africa, and the Far East. Before long, however, Englishmen began to perceive ways and means of deriving economic advantages from the labors of Spaniards and Portuguese.

It was during the reign of Elizabeth (1558-1603) that England began her great seafaring career. And she began it with piracy, smuggling, and slave-trading. One of the pioneers was John Hawkins (1532-1595), a native of Plymouth, who in the 1560's inaugurated the daring and lucrative industry of stealing negroes from Portuguese slave-catchers on the Guinea coast of Africa, transporting them to the New World, and selling them to Spanish colonists. With Queen Elizabeth, Hawkins shared his financial profits, but he grew so wealthy himself that in the 1570's he could settle down in England as a capitalist and send out numerous expeditions to engage in the slave-trade, to prey on the overseas colonies of Spain, and to fight and rob Spanish treasure-ships on the way from America. Under royal auspices, moreover, he organized an English navy; and as rear-admiral he had a conspicuous part in the repulse of the Spanish Armada. Throughout his harsh, unscrupulous career, Hawkins professed an ardent Puritanism. On one of his voyages, when he was becalmed and his negroes were suffering and dying, he

Founda-  
tion of  
England's  
Sea Power  
in Reign  
of  
Elizabeth

Hawkins

could console himself with the reflection that he at least was one of the elect whom God would not suffer to perish.<sup>1</sup>

Francis Drake (1545-1596), a cousin of Hawkins, was formally commissioned in 1570 by Elizabeth as a privateer; and with initial financial backing from her and her favorite, the earl of Drake Essex, he also acquired fame and wealth at Spanish expense. In 1580, he returned from a three-year trip around the world, laden with booty which he had taken from Spaniards and Portuguese; it was the second circumnavigation of the globe, and the first by an Englishman. In 1588 Drake served as English vice-admiral against the Spanish Armada.

A third freebooter and pirate was Thomas Cavendish (1555-1592), who in 1586-1587 effected the third circumnavigation of Cavendish the globe in the record time of two years and fifty days. Cavendish looted as he went, and it was said on his return that "his sailors were clothed in silk, his sails were damask, and his top-mast covered with cloth of gold."

Even more renowned were the adventurous exploits of two half-brothers—Humphrey Gilbert (1539-1583) and Walter Raleigh (1552-1618). Gilbert profited from piracy and Gilbert and Raleigh campaigned in the Netherlands against Spain, but his principal title to fame rests on two other achievements. In the first place, he developed and inspired many of his countrymen with the theory that China and India could be reached from England not only by utilizing the Portuguese and Spanish routes, but also, and more quickly, by sailing northwest or northeast over the polar seas.<sup>2</sup> He himself sought a "north passage" in 1578-1579, and a number of other English sailors, including Frobisher, Davis, Hudson, and Baffin, did likewise.<sup>3</sup> Though all

<sup>1</sup> Hawkins explained to Queen Elizabeth his failure to capture a particular Spanish treasure-fleet by quoting from the Bible: "Paul doth plant, Apollo doth water, but God giveth the increase;" which exhibition of piety is said to have provoked the queen into exclaiming, "God's death! This fool went out a soldier, and has come home a divine."

<sup>2</sup> Even before the reign of Elizabeth, Sir Hugh Willoughby had attempted to sail to China by following the north shore of Europe eastward, but he had perished on the coast of Lapland in 1554. Gilbert interested himself in the "northern passage" as early as 1566, and ten years later he published an influential book on the subject.

<sup>3</sup> Frobisher won notoriety by pretending to have discovered gold in the Arctic and he won actual wealth by freebooting, under Raleigh, on the Spanish Main. Davis and Baffin both gave names to Arctic regions which they explored; Davis, besides, discovered the Falkland Islands; and both spent their last years in the service of the English East India Company, Davis meeting death in a fight with

## THE RISE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

such efforts were doomed to failure by impassable ice, they served to increase geographical knowledge and to establish English supremacy in the rich northern fisheries, particularly in the whaling industry. In the second place, Gilbert was the pioneer English colonizer. Armed with a charter from Queen Elizabeth authorizing him to discover and occupy "any remote, barbarous, and heathen lands not actually possessed of any Christian prince or people," he founded a colony in 1583 at St. Johns, Newfoundland. The ~~settlement~~ was short-lived, but thenceforth the attempts of Englishmen to create an overseas colonial empire were persistent and, before long, successful.

Walter Raleigh, a handsome fellow and a bragging buccaneer, was a favorite of Queen Elizabeth and an idol of patriotic Englishmen. He gained money easily by raids on Spanish colonies and commerce, and spent it lavishly at court and in colonial undertakings. By royal favor he acquired extensive estates in Ireland and planted English settlers on them. He coöperated with his half-brother Humphrey Gilbert in the establishment of the English colony in Newfoundland. He also gave the name "Virginia" (in honor of Elizabeth, the "virgin queen") to the vast but then vague stretch of American land north of the Spanish settlements in Florida, and on Roanoke Island (in the present state of North Carolina) he founded the first English colony in what is now the United States. This colony, like that in Newfoundland, was short-lived, but it was soon followed by permanent English settlements.<sup>1</sup>

Raleigh and Gilbert, Frobisher and Cavendish, Drake and Hawkins, these are only conspicuous examples of a large number of Englishmen who in the second half of the sixteenth century sought—and obtained—rich rewards from distant adventurings. Most of the rewards were at Spanish expense, and were reaped from such questionable sources as piracy, pillage, and the slave-trade. But the means were justified on the ground that they were necessary to assure the freedom of Protestant England against the domination of Catholic Spain, and Queen Elizabeth winked at them when she did not openly abet them.

Japanese pirates off the coast of Sumatra, and Baffin in a battle with the Portuguese for the possession of the Persian port of Ormuz. Henry Hudson, in repeated seekings for a northwest route to China, was the explorer of the river, bay, and territory which still bear his name.

<sup>1</sup> On the personal fate of Raleigh, see above, p. 260, note.

From this highly irregular and practically unequal contest between England and Spain, England emerged the victor. The outcome was made possible by the daring and skill of English sailors; and it was rendered inevitable by the defeat of the Spanish Armada and by the arrival of Elizabeth.

Elizabeth was enabled to despatch at critical times Netherlanders, Frenchmen, Portuguese, or any other people who were threatening the dominion of Philip II.<sup>1</sup> It was England, therefore, which was a principal agent in breaking down the Spanish monopoly of world-commerce and world-empire. By the close of Elizabeth's reign, Englishmen were to be found in every quarter of the globe, following Drake's lead into the Pacific or Gilbert's into the Arctic, hunting for slaves in the wilds of Africa, journeying in caravans across the steppes of Russia into central Asia, bargaining with Turks and Greeks in the Near East, laying the foundations of the East India Company, or of the colonies of Virginia and Newfoundland. All of which meant that new wealth was pouring into England, enriching many a courtier and nobleman and many an upstart adventurer, and stimulating the growth of a numerous and influential middle class.

Following the death of Elizabeth, James VI of Scotland ascended the English throne as James I (1603-1625), and the two British kingdoms were united under a common sovereign. But under James and his Stuart successors, the advance of England as a commercial and colonial world-power continued, and with ever quickening speed. James I, it is true, formally reversed the foreign policy of Elizabeth. To the intense disgust of many of his subjects he concluded peace with Spain, tried to arrange a marriage between his son and a Spanish princess, and put Walter Raleigh to death for the same sort of piracy for which Raleigh had been honored and promoted by Elizabeth. Outside of strictly Spanish preserves, however, James I fostered commerce and colonies. He followed Elizabethan precedent by large-scale plantings of Protestant Englishmen and Scotsmen in northern Ireland (Ulster). He confirmed the charters which his predecessor had granted to English

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 251-254.

Companies and he himself chartered new ones. The Muscovy Company, the oldest of the "chartered companies," which originated in the time of Mary Tudor and had obtained during the reign of Elizabeth exclusive trading privileges on the Sea, was now encouraged to extend its operations throughout the expanding Russian Empire. During the seventeenth century and until the advent of Peter the Great, the foreign commerce of Russia was almost wholly in the hands of the English Muscovy Company.

An English East India Company had been chartered in 1600, in the last years of Elizabeth, for the purpose of monopolizing for fifteen years all English trading east of the Cape of Good Hope "in places not held by other Christian powers." At first, slight success had attended this company, but after 1609, when it was rechartered by James I in perpetuity, with increased capital and privileges, it became an important source of English power and wealth in India. From the city of Surat, as a centre, English fleets of the East India Company ousted the Portuguese from several towns along the west coast between Goa and Diu and seized the strategic port of Masulipatam on the eastern coast. In 1622 another fleet captured from the Portuguese the town of Ormuz on the Persian Gulf. Foundations were clearly laid for a British mercantile empire in India and Persia.

It was also during the reign of James I that the first permanent settlements were made by Englishmen in the New World. Under the auspices of the London Company, which he chartered, and under the able leadership of Captain John Smith, an expedition of some hundred adventurers arrived on the coast of Raleigh's "Virginia," sailed up a river which they christened the James in honor of their king, and on a low-lying peninsula founded Jamestown (1607). Five years later, under the auspices of another newly chartered company, a settlement was effected in the Bermuda Islands. In 1620, a band of English Radical Protestants—so-called "Separatists" or "Congregationalists,"—who had been persecuted by James I

The  
English  
East India  
Company

English  
Colonies  
in America

and other Anglican Protestants and had found temporary refuge in Holland, and who were now enlisted as overseas colonists by a branch of the London Company and led by Captain Miles Standish, established themselves at Plymouth on the coast of "New England" (1620). Thenceforth, English migration to America increased rapidly.

Under Charles I (1625-1649), the son and successor of James I, English colonization in America proceeded apace. Settlements were made in New England, at Boston (1630), Providence (1636), Hartford (1636), New Haven (1638), and elsewhere. The population of Virginia increased from two thousand to fifteen thousand. A new colony was planted on the banks of the Chesapeake by Lord Baltimore, under royal patent, and named Maryland in honor of the wife of Charles I (1634). Important footholds were obtained in the West Indies, on the islands of St. Christopher and Barbados (1625), Nevis (1628), Antigua, and Montserrat (1632).

It must be emphasized that England was only one of the European nations which between 1560 and 1650 labored, with considerable success, to destroy Spain's monopoly of overseas commerce and colonization. France, too, labored simultaneously for the same purpose and with almost equal success. Capitalism was then as much developed in France as in England; Frenchmen were as eager as Englishmen to secure a profitable share of the world's trade and dominion; and the dynastic rivalry between the French royal line and the Spanish Habsburgs was easily translated into colonial and commercial rivalry between their respective realms. French Protestants and even patriotic French Catholics vied with English Protestants in detesting Philip II of Spain and in poaching upon his distant and wide preserves.<sup>1</sup>

Indeed the emergence of France as a commercial and colonial power curiously paralleled England's. What Cabot had originally been to England, Verrazano and Cartier were to France. Then, in the second half of the sixteenth century, there were French, as well as English, pirates, buccaneers, smugglers, and adventurers. Admiral Coligny, one of the leaders of the French Protestants, inspired many an attack on Spanish or Portuguese shipping and many an attempt to found overseas colonies for

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 254-259.

France, notably in Brazil and in Florida. These first foundations were short-lived, but they were followed, in the early part of the seventeenth century, by permanent settlements. Under King Henry IV, Samuel Champlain, a brave and sagacious French adventurer, explored the valley of the St. Lawrence and in 1608 founded Quebec. By 1650 the French were not only colonizing Canada and Acadia<sup>1</sup> and exploiting the furs, forests, and fisheries of northern America, but they were also engaging in commercial ventures in the Far East and in the slave-trade between Africa and America.

In the year 1650, however, the Dutch Netherlands, the so-called "United Provinces," seemed to be the outstanding successor to the maritime supremacy of Spain and Portugal. If England and France had significantly contributed to the decline of Spain, the chief profits seemed to have accrued to the Netherlands.

It was natural that the Netherlands should rise to commercial and colonial greatness. We have already noted how in the first half of the sixteenth century the Netherlands were the wealthiest portion of the dominions of Charles V and Netherlandish traders and bankers, supplanting Italians in capitalistic leadership, were financing and profiting from the construction of the Spanish and Portuguese colonial empires.<sup>2</sup> We have also noted how in the second half of the sixteenth century the Netherlanders fell out with their Spanish sovereign, Philip II, and how the northern (or Dutch) Netherlands waged a long and eventually successful struggle for national independence.<sup>3</sup> In the circumstances, the Dutch had the reasons, the means, and the opportunities for preying most indefatigably on Spanish commerce and colonies; and when Portugal was incorporated with Spain in 1580, the Dutch were in an excellent position to extend their preying to Portuguese commerce and colonies.

In 1593 the Dutch began systematic slave-trading on the Guinea coast of Africa. In 1595 they undertook their first expedition to India and the Spice Islands. In 1602 they merged a number of earlier commercial companies into the Dutch East India Company, which proceeded to

Commercial and Colonial Importance of the Dutch Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century

<sup>1</sup> The region now known as Nova Scotia.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 87-90.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 245-250.

drive the Portuguese from Ceylon, Java, Sumatra, Moluccas (Spice Islands). A great naval victory at Malacca in 1606 over a combined Spanish-Portuguese fleet and a defeat of the remaining Spanish squadron at Gibraltar rendered the Dutch the virtual masters of the ocean trade routes and enabled a great governor of the Dutch East India Company, John Coen, to do for Holland what Albuquerque a century earlier had done for Portugal. Coen reorganized the East Indian trading posts which had been captured from the Portuguese, made favorable treaties with native chieftains, and consolidated and extended the empire of the Dutch Netherlands in the Far East so that it eventually included not only Ceylon, Java, Sumatra, and the Moluccas but also the Malay peninsula, Formosa, Borneo, Celebes, a part of New Guinea, and a claim to the western coast of Australia (which was named New Holland). As the political and commercial capital of this huge and rich domain, Coen founded in 1619 the city of Batavia on the island of Java.

For some time after the death of Coen, the Dutch continued to expand and strengthen their monopoly of Far Eastern trade. They largely supplanted other Europeans in the commerce of Japan, China, and India. The most famous navigator in the service of the Dutch East India Company, Abel Tasman (1603-1659), sailed completely around Australia (1642-1643) and discovered Tasmania, New Zealand, and the Tonga and Fiji islands. Another Dutch navigator appropriated the island of St. Helena, in the southern Atlantic, in 1645; and the shipwreck of Dutch sailors at the Cape of Good Hope in 1648 led shortly afterwards to the founding of Cape Town and the establishment of a Dutch colony in South Africa.

In the meantime, the Dutch were laying foundations for commercial and colonial dominion in America. Like contemporary Englishmen and Frenchmen, they at first resorted to piracy, smuggling, and slave-trading within Spanish or Portuguese areas, but soon, under the auspices of chartered companies, they began to capture strategic posts from their rivals or to stake out claims to hitherto unoccupied territories. Thus, on the one hand, they invaded Portuguese Brazil (1624) and wrested from the Spaniards the West Indian islands of Tobago and Curaçao (1632-1634), and on the other

They first colonized the Hudson valley in North America; their claim to this valley rested on its exploration in 1609 by Henry Hudson, the English navigator, who was then in Dutch service; and on its occupation by Dutch traders and colonists shortly afterwards. At the mouth of the river they founded the city of New Amsterdam, and a hundred and fifty miles up the river they built Fort Orange. They were soon extending this promising colony of New Netherland eastward toward the Connecticut River and westward to the Delaware.<sup>1</sup>

It thus transpired that by the middle of the seventeenth century the Dutch had become the chief heir to Portugal's commercial supremacy in Asia and Africa and were threatening to become a most serious rival of England and France for the Spanish inheritance in America. The economic prosperity of the Netherlands was the envy of all Europe, and Amsterdam was the banking centre of the world.

Whence it followed that, just as Spain and Portugal had been the targets of attack by other would-be commercial powers in the sixteenth century, so the Netherlands were assailed in the seventeenth century. Dutchmen, rather than Spaniards and Portuguese, were now regarded with disfavor and even hatred by Frenchmen and especially by Englishmen. Between England and the Netherlands a series of wars ensued.

Commercial Wars between England and the Netherlands

This, at first thought, may seem surprising. Most Englishmen and Dutchmen were alike enthusiastically Protestant. They had long made common cause against Catholic Spain. Economic as well as religious ties between them had long been intimate. But the richer grew the Netherlands, the more anxious were the Dutch government and bourgeoisie to exclude every foreigner, Protestant as well as Catholic, from their commerce and colonies. And the greater the profits which England derived from the forceful destruction of Spanish monopoly, the more determined were her sovereigns and traders and capitalists to prevent any other foreign power from establishing another monopoly. It was thanks to the marked growth of capitalism, both in the Netherlands and in England, that by the seventeenth century common religion was subordinated to national

<sup>1</sup> A Swedish company, patronized by King Gustavus Adolphus, had established a fort on the Delaware in 1638; this fort was captured by the Dutch in 1655.

economic interests, and wars were waged between the two countries.

Rivalry developed between England and the Netherlands early in the seventeenth century. It developed over fisheries in the north Atlantic, over commercial posts in India, over slave-trading in Africa and the West Indies, over settlements in America. In the West, the Dutch by establishing the colony of New Netherland, thrust a threatening wedge between English settlements in Virginia and New England. In the East, the English East India Company was prohibited by the Dutch East India Company from trading with the Spice Islands, and in 1623 English merchants and settlers on the island of Amboyna were massacred by a Dutch naval force.

At length, in 1651, when the English government, then headed by Oliver Cromwell, enacted a special navigation act, confining English trade to English ships and thereby forbidding the Dutch to trade direct with England, formal hostilities commenced. They were destined to continue through three wars.

In the first Anglo-Dutch War (1652-1654), the English suffered several defeats at the hands of the great Dutch admirals, De Ruyter and Van Tromp, but they also won some successes; and by the treaty of Westminster (1654) they obtained from the Netherlands a trading-post in the Spice Islands and an indemnity for the "massacre of Amboyna." Indirectly, the English were aided in this war by an uprising of the Portuguese colonists in Brazil against their Dutch masters; and the Netherlands by a treaty of 1662 receded Brazil to Portugal.<sup>1</sup> Thereafter the Dutch retained in South America only a portion of Guiana (Surinam).<sup>2</sup>

In the second Anglo-Dutch War (1665-1667) the English were even more successful. Though a Dutch fleet under De Ruyter burned English shipping on the Thames and temporarily terrorized London, the English captured New Amsterdam, rechristened it New York in honor of the duke of York (the heir to the

<sup>1</sup> This treaty was favored by King Charles II of England who had just married a Portuguese princess and had obtained, as her dowry, the important city of Bombay in India. Charles II preferred that Brazil should belong to a weak Portugal rather than to the strong Netherlands.

<sup>2</sup> Just on the eve of the first Anglo-Dutch War, the South Atlantic island of St. Helena was occupied by the English. It was confirmed in their possession by an agreement of 1661.

English throne); and secured its permanent cession by the *treaty of Breda* (1667).

The third Anglo-Dutch War (1672-1674) was merged in the attack which Louis XIV of France made on the Netherlands and which has already been discussed.<sup>1</sup> The English king at the time, Charles II, was in alliance with Louis XIV, and still believed that the Netherlands constituted the chief obstacle to his own country's commercial and colonial expansion. On the other hand, the English parliament, critical of the domestic policies of Charles II and doubtless more reflective of the sentiments of English traders and capitalists, was becoming convinced that the Netherlands had already ceased to be a dangerous rival and that France was the outstanding English enemy of the future.

Consequently, through the remainder of the reign of Charles II and through that of his brother and successor, James II (1685-

Decline of  
Anglo-  
Dutch  
Rivalry

1688), England pursued a wavering policy between the Netherlands and France, now favoring the one and now favoring the other. By 1688, however, it was generally recognized in England that the period of active growth was past for the overseas empires not only of Portugal and Spain but also of the Netherlands and that the future race for world wealth and dominion was between England and France. As England had laid her foundations of capitalism, commerce, and colonies in a struggle with Spain in the sixteenth century and in wars with the Netherlands in the seventeenth century, so now in a vast conflict with France she would seek to crown those foundations with mastery of the seas and of all the continents beyond the seas. The Anglo-French conflict began in 1689 and raged intermittently throughout the eighteenth century.

## 2. BRITAIN'S RIVALRY WITH FRANCE

England and France had each planted overseas colonies, as we have seen, in the first half of the seventeenth century. During the second half of the century, both continued to develop and intensify colonial and commercial ambitions, so that by the year 1689 their rival dominions and trading posts faced each other in North America, in the West Indies, in Africa, and in

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 299-301.

**India.** Let us glance at the extent and nature of these rival empires on the eve of the long struggle between them.

In North America, England possessed in 1689 a continuous and fairly populous strip of Atlantic seacoast, comprising ten colonies. The oldest of these, Virginia, had been settled in 1607. Plymouth, founded in 1620, was about to be merged (1691) with the neighboring New England colony of Massachusetts (which then included what is now Maine). Adjoining Massachusetts, in "New England," had grown up the three separate colonies of Connecticut; Rhode Island, and New Hampshire. Maryland had been established, in 1634, to the north of Virginia, and Carolina, in 1665, to the south. The capture of New Netherland from the Dutch in 1664 had enabled the English to form the additional colonies of New York and New Jersey. And the appropriation of the territory between New Jersey and Maryland by William Penn and fellow English Quakers had recently (1681) set Pennsylvania as the keystone in the arch of English colonies along the Atlantic. Besides, since 1623 an English settlement had existed in Newfoundland, and since 1670 an English chartered company had been active in the fur trade of Hudson's Bay.

Numerous causes had contributed to the growth of the British colonies on the North American continent. Anglican religious intolerance had driven Radical Protestants to New England and Catholics to Maryland. Subsequently, the intolerance of Radicals in England had sent Anglicans to Virginia. Thousands of others had migrated merely to acquire wealth or to escape starvation. And America seemed a place wherein to mend broken fortunes. Upon the landed estates (plantations) of gentlemen in the southern colonies, negro slaves toiled without pay in the tobacco fields.<sup>1</sup> New England was less fertile, but its shrewd colonists found wealth in fishing, whaling, rum-making, and shipping. By 1689 the population of the ten colonies was estimated at nearly three hundred thousand.

The French settlers were less numerous<sup>2</sup> but more widely spread. From their first posts in Quebec (1608) and Acadia, they had pushed on up the St. Lawrence. Jesuit and other

<sup>1</sup> Later, rice and cotton became important products of southern agriculture.

<sup>2</sup> Probably not more than 20,000 Frenchmen were residing in America in 1689. By 1750 their number had increased perhaps to 60,000.

Catholic missionaries had led the way from Montreal westward to Lake Superior and southward to the Ohio River. In 1682 La Salle, a French nobleman, after paddling down the Mississippi, laid claim to the whole basin of that mighty stream, and named the region Louisiana in honor of Louis XIV of France. Nominally, at least, this territory was claimed by the English, for in most of the colonial charters emanating from the English crown in the seventeenth century were clauses which granted lands "from sea to sea"—that is, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The heart of "New France" remained on the St. Lawrence, but, despite English claims, French forts were commencing to mark the trails of French fur-traders down into the "Louisiana," and it was clear that whenever the English colonists should cross the Appalachian Mountains to the westward they would have to fight the French. Besides, there were French, as well as English, settlers in Newfoundland, and the French in Canada resented the activities of the English Hudson's Bay Company.

French  
Colonies  
in America  
in 1689

French and English were neighbors also in the West Indies. Martinique and Guadeloupe acknowledged French sovereignty, while Jamaica, Barbados, and the Bahamas were English.<sup>1</sup> These holdings in the West Indies were highly prized not only for their sugar plantations, but for their convenience as stations for trade with Mexico and South America.

In Africa the French had made settlements in Madagascar, at Gorée, and at the mouth of the Senegal River, and the English had established themselves in Gambia and on the Gold Coast, but as yet the African posts were mere stations for trade in gold-dust,<sup>2</sup> ivory, wax, and, principally, negro slaves. The real struggle for Africa was not to come until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

French  
and  
English in  
Africa

Of even greater lure to both France and England was Asiatic India, which, unlike America or Africa, offered a field more

<sup>1</sup> The following West Indies were also English: Nevis, Montserrat, Antigua, Honduras, St. Lucia, Virgin Islands, and the Turks and Caicos Islands. St. Kitts was divided between England and France; and the western part of Haiti, already visited by French buccaneers, was definitely annexed to France in 1697. The Bermudas, lying outside the "West Indies," were already English.

<sup>2</sup> Gold coins are still often called "guineas" in England, from the fact that a good deal of gold used to come from the Guinea coast of Africa.

## HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE

favorable for commerce than for conquest or colonization. For it happened that the fertility and extent of India—its area was half as large as that of Europe—were taxed to their uttermost to support a population of probably two hundred millions; and all, therefore, which Europeans desired was an opportunity to buy Indian products, such as cotton, indigo, spices, dyes, drugs, silks, precious stones, and peculiar manufactures.

India in the Seventeenth Century In the seventeenth century India was ruled by a dynasty of Moslem emperors called Moguls, who had entered the peninsula as conquerors in the previous century and had established a splendid court in the city of Delhi on a branch of the Ganges. The bulk of the people, however, maintained their ancient Hindu religion with their social ranks or "castes," and preserved their distinctive speech and customs. Over a country like India, broken up into many disparate regions by diverse physical features, climates, industries, and languages, the Moslem conquerors,—the "Great Mogul" and his viceroys, called nawabs,<sup>1</sup>—found it impossible to establish more than a loose sovereignty, many of the native princes or "rajas" still being allowed to rule with considerable independence, and the millions of Hindus feeling little love or loyalty for their emperor. It was this fatal weakness of the Great Mogul which enabled the European traders, who in the seventeenth century besought his favor and protection, to set themselves up in the eighteenth as his masters.

It will be remembered that after the voyage of Vasco da Gama the Portuguese had monopolized the trade with India and the

The English in India East until they had been attacked by the Dutch toward the close of the sixteenth century. This was the very time when the English were making their first voyages<sup>2</sup> to the East and were taking advantage of their own war with Philip II of Spain to attack his Portuguese possessions. The first English trading stations were opened at Masulipatam (1611) and at Surat (1612). In the latter year and again in 1615 Portuguese fleets were defeated, and in 1622 the Portuguese were driven out of the important Persian city of Ormuz. By 1689 the English had acquired three important points in India.

<sup>1</sup> More popularly, "nabobs."

<sup>2</sup> Actually the first English voyage to the East Indies was made between 1591 and 1594, almost a century after the first Portuguese voyage.

(1) Calcutta, in the delta of the Ganges (and in the province of Bengal), had been founded in 1686, but it was yet uncertain whether the English could hold it against the Mogul emperor. (2) At Madras, farther south, Sir Francis Day had built Fort St. George (1640). (3) On the western coast, the trading station of Surat was now surpassed in value by Bombay, the dowry of the Portuguese princess who had married King Charles II (1662).

The first French Company for Eastern trade had been formed only four years after the English East India Company,<sup>1</sup> but the first French factory in India—at Surat—was not established until 1668 and the French did not seriously compete with the English and Dutch in India until the close of the seventeenth century. However, their post at Chandarnagar (1672), in dangerous proximity to Calcutta, and their thriving station at Pondicherry (1674), within a hundred miles of Madras, augured ill for the future harmony of French and English in India.

From the foregoing brief review of the respective colonial possessions of Great Britain and France in the year 1689, it must be evident that although France had entered the colonial competition tardily, she had succeeded remarkably well in becoming a formidable rival of the British. The great struggle for supremacy was to be decided, nevertheless, not by priority of settlement or validity of claim, but by the fighting power of the contestants. France, a larger, more populous, and richer country than England, able then single-handed to keep the rest of Europe at bay, was to prove the weaker of the two in the struggle for world empire.

In the first place, England's maritime power was increasing more steadily than that of France. Although Richelieu had recognized the need for a French navy and had given a great impetus to ship-building, France had become inextricably entangled in European politics, and the navy was half forgotten in the ambitious land wars of Louis XIV. The English, on the other hand, were predisposed to the sea by the very fact of their insularity, and since the days of the great armada their most patriotic boast had been of the deeds of mariners. In the wars

<sup>1</sup> Charters to French companies had been granted in 1604 and in 1615. The *Compagnie des Indes* was formed in 1642, and reconstructed in 1664.

with the Dutch, the first great English admiral—Robert Blake—had won glorious victories.

Then, too, the Navigation Acts (1651, 1660), by excluding foreign ships from trade between Great Britain and her colonies, may have lessened the volume of trade; but they resulted in undoubtedly prosperity for English shippers. Whether capturing galleons off the "Spanish main" or defeating Portuguese fleets in the Far East, English pirates, slavers, and merchantmen were not to be encountered without fear or envy. English commerce and industry, springing up under the protection and encouragement of the Tudors and Stuarts, had given birth to a moneyed class powerful enough, as we shall presently see, to obtain special rights and privileges through parliament.<sup>1</sup>

The French, on the other hand, labored under certain commercial handicaps. Local tolls and internal customs-duties hindered traffic; and the medieval guild system had retained in France its power to hamper capitalism in its pursuit of profits. The long civil and religious wars, which called workmen from their benches and endangered the property and lives of merchants, had resulted in reducing French commerce to a shadow before 1600. Under Henry IV prosperity revived, but the growth of royal power made it impossible for the Protestant merchants in France to achieve political power comparable with that which their fellows won in England. Consequently the French mercantile classes were quite unable to prevent Louis XIV from ruining their country by foreign war. They could not vote themselves privileges and bounties as in England, nor could they declare war on commercial rivals. True, Colbert, the great "mercantilist" minister of Louis XIV, did his best to encourage new industries, such as silk production, to make rules for the better conduct of old industries, and to lay taxes on such imported goods as might compete with home products, but French industry could not be made to thrive like that of England. It is often said that Colbert's careful regulations did much harm by stifling the spirit of free enterprise; but far more destructive were the wars and taxes<sup>2</sup> of the Grand Monarch. The only

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. 2, pp. 434, 453-454.

<sup>2</sup> In order to obtain money for his court, diplomacy, and wars, Louis XIV not only increased taxes but debased the coinage. Particularly unfortunate, economically, was the revocation of the edict of Nantes (1685). See above, p. 313.

wonder is that France bore the drain of men and money as well as she did.

In general colonial policy France seemed decidedly superior. Louis XIV had taken over the whole of "New France" as a royal province, and the French could present a united front against the divided and discordant English colonies. Under Colbert the number of French colonists in America increased three hundred per cent in twenty years. Moreover the French, both in India and in America, were almost uniformly successful in gaining the friendship and trust of the natives, whereas, at least with the redmen, the English were frequently at war.

The English, however, had a great advantage in the number of colonists. The population of France, held in check by wars, did not overflow to America naturally; and the Huguenots, persecuted in the mother country, were not allowed to emigrate to New France, lest their presence might impede the missionary labors of the Jesuits among the Indians.<sup>1</sup> England was more fortunate in that her Puritan, Quaker, and Catholic exiles went to her colonies rather than to foreign lands. The English colonists, less under the direct protection of the mother country, learned to defend themselves and were better able to help the mother country against their common foe, the French.

Taken all in all, the situation was favorable to Great Britain. As long as French monarchs spent the resources of France in Europe, they could scarcely hope to cope with the superior navy, the thriving commerce, and the more populous colonies, of their rivals.

Colonial and commercial rivalry could hardly bring France and Great Britain to blows while the Stuart kings looked to Louis XIV for friendly aid in the erection of absolutism and the reinstatement of Catholicism in England. In 1689, however, a revolution occurred in Great Britain.<sup>2</sup> King James II was dethroned and exiled; the English parliament reasserted itself; and the British crown was bestowed

**The Alliance of English and Dutch against the French**

<sup>1</sup> The statement is frequently made that the "paternalism" or fatherly care with which Richelieu and Colbert made regulations for the colonies was responsible for the paucity of colonists and the discouragement of colonial industry. This, however, will be taken with considerable reservation when it is remembered that England, too, attempted to prevent the growth of such industries in her colonies as might compete with those at home.

<sup>2</sup> For more detailed account of the revolution, see Vol. 2, pp. 446-452.

upon James II's son-in-law, — William III, prince of Orange, stadholder of the Dutch Netherlands, a sterling Protestant, and an arch-enemy of Louis XIV. The accession of William III meant a juncture of England and the Netherlands against France.

In an earlier chapter<sup>1</sup> we have seen how this significant juncture was merged in the League of Augsburg, which included not only England and the Netherlands, but also the Holy Roman Empire, the kings of Spain and Sweden, and the electors of Bavaria, Saxony, and the Palatinate, and how the League King William's War waged war with Louis XIV of France from 1689 to 1697. It was during this struggle, it will be remembered, that King William finally defeated James II and the latter's French and Irish allies in the battle of the Boyne (1690). It was also during this struggle that the French navy, though successful against combined Dutch and English squadrons off Beachy Head (1690), was decisively beaten by the English in a three-day battle near La Hogue (1692).

The War of the League of Augsburg had its counterpart between American colonists of England and France in the so-called "King William's War," of which two aspects should be noted. In the first place, the New England colonists aided in the capture (1690) of the French fortress of Port Royal in Acadia (Nova Scotia) and in an inconsequential attack on Quebec. In the second place, we must notice the rôle of the Indians. As early as 1670, Roger Williams, a famous New England preacher, had declared that "the French and Romish Jesuits, the firebrands of the world, for their godbelly sake, are kindling at our back in this country their hellish fires with all the natives of this country." The outbreak of King William's War was a signal for the kindling of fires more to be feared than those imagined by the good divine; the burning of Dover (N. H.), Schenectady (N. Y.), and Groton (Mass.) by the red allies of the French governor, Count Frontenac, earned the latter the lasting hatred of the "Yankees."

The contest was interrupted rather than settled by the colorless treaty of Ryswick (1697), according to which Louis XIV promised not to question William's right to the English throne, and all colonial conquests, including Port Royal, were restored.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 302-304.

Only five years later Europe was plunged into the long War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713). King William and the Habsburg emperor with other European princes formed a Grand Alliance to prevent Louis's grandson Philip from inheriting the Spanish crowns. For if France and Spain were united under the Bourbon family, their armies would overawe Europe; their united colonial empires would surround and perhaps engulf the British colonies; their combined navies might drive the British from the seas. Furthermore, the English were angered when Louis XIV, upon the death of James II (1701), openly recognized the Catholic son of the exiled royal Stuart as "James III," king of Great Britain.

The Alliance of French and Spanish against the English

While the duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene were winning great victories in Europe,<sup>1</sup> the British colonists in America were fighting "Queen Anne's War" against the French. Again the French sent Indians to destroy New England villages, and again the English retaliated by attacking Port Royal and Quebec. After withstanding two unsuccessful assaults, Port Royal fell in 1710 and left Acadia open to the British. In the following year a fleet of nine war vessels and sixty transports carried twelve thousand Britishers to attack Quebec, while an army of 2,300 moved on Montreal by way of Lake Champlain; but both these expeditions failed of their objects.

Queen Anne's War

On the high seas, as well as in America and in Europe, the British won fresh laurels. It was during Queen Anne's War that the British navy, sometimes with the valuable aid of the Dutch, played an important part in defeating the French fleet in the Mediterranean and driving French privateers from the sea, in besieging and capturing Gibraltar, in seizing a rich squadron of Spanish treasure ships near Cartagena, and in terrorizing the French West Indies.

The main provisions of the treaty of Utrecht, which terminated this stage of the conflict, in so far as they affected the colonial situation,<sup>2</sup> were as follows: (1) The French Bourbons were allowed to become the reigning family in Spain, and though the proviso was inserted that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united, nevertheless so long as Bourbons reigned in both

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 309-310.

<sup>2</sup> For the European settlement, see above, pp. 310-311.

**Colonial and Commercial Provisions of the Treaty of Utrecht** countries the colonies of Spain and France might almost be regarded as one immense Bourbon empire. (2) Great Britain was confirmed in possession of Acadia,<sup>1</sup> which was rechristened New Scotland (Nova Scotia), and France abandoned her claims to Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland, and the island of St. Kitts in the West Indies. (3) Great Britain secured from Spain the island of Minorca and the rocky stronghold of Gibraltar—bulwarks of Mediterranean commerce. (4) Of more immediate value to Great Britain was the trade concession, called the Asiento, made by Spain (1713). Prior to the Asiento, British trade with the Spanish possessions in America had been illegal, and the French had especially profited from the sale of negro slaves to the Spanish colonies. The Asiento, however, allowed Great Britain exclusive right to supply Spanish America with negro slaves, at the rate of 4,800 a year, for thirty years. The English were still formally forbidden to sell other commodities in the domains of the Spanish king, except that once a year one British ship of five hundred tons' displacement might visit Porto Bello on the Isthmus of Panama for purposes of general trade.

For almost three decades after the peace of Utrecht, the smoldering colonial and commercial jealousies between Great Britain and France were not allowed to break forth into the flame of open war. During the interval, however, British ambitions were coming more and more obviously into conflict with the claims of Spain and France in America, and with those of France in India. Piracy and buccaneering continued.

**Continuing Franco-British Rivalry in America** In spite of her losses by the treaty of Utrecht, France still held the St. Lawrence River, with Cape Breton Island defending its mouth; her fishermen still had special privileges on the Newfoundland banks; her islands in the West Indies flourished under greater freedom of trade than that enjoyed by the English; and her pioneers were occupying the vast valley of the Mississippi. Moreover, in preparing for the next stage of the conflict, France displayed astonishing energy. Fort Louisburg was erected on Cape Breton Island to command the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. A long series of fortifications was constructed to stake out and safeguard the French

<sup>1</sup> A dispute later arose whether, as the British claimed, "Acadia" included Cape Breton Island.

claims. From Crown Point on Lake Champlain, the line was carried westward by Fort Niagara, Fort Detroit, Sault Sainte Marie, on to Lake Winnipeg and even beyond; other forts commanded the Wabash and Illinois rivers, and followed the Mississippi down to the Gulf.<sup>1</sup> Settlements were made at Mobile (1702) and at New Orleans (1718), and British sailors were given to understand that the Mississippi was French property. The governors of British colonies had ample cause for envy and alarm.

In India, likewise, the French were too enterprising to be good neighbors. Under the leadership of a remarkably able governor-general, Dupleix, who was appointed in 1741, they were prospering and were extending their influence in the effete empire of the Great Mogul. Dupleix exhibited a restless ambition. He began to interfere in native politics and to assume the pompous bearing, gorgeous apparel, and proud titles of a native prince. He conceived the idea of augmenting his slender garrisons of Europeans with "sepoys," or carefully drilled natives, and he fortified his capital, Pondicherry, as if for war.

Franco-British  
Rivalry in India

To the dangerous rivalry between British and French colonists and traders in America and in India, during the thirty years which followed the treaty of Utrecht, was added the continuous bickering which grew out of the Asiento concluded in 1713 between Great Britain and Spain. Spaniards complained of British smugglers and protested with justice that the British outrageously abused their special privilege by keeping the single stipulated vessel in the harbor of Porto Bello and refilling it at night from other ships. On the other hand, British merchants resented their general exclusion from Spanish markets and recited to willing listeners at home the tales of their grievances against the Spanish authorities. Of such tales the most notorious was that of a certain Captain Robert Jenkins, who with dramatic detail told how the bloody Spaniards had attacked his good ship, plundered it, and in the fray cut off one of his ears, and to prove his story he produced a box containing what purported to be the ear in question. In the ace of the popular excitement aroused in England by this and similar incidents, Sir Robert Walpole, the peace-loving prime

Com-  
mercial  
Rivalry of  
Spain and  
Britain

<sup>1</sup> By the year 1750 there were over sixty French forts between Montreal and New Orleans.

minister of the time, was unable to restrain his fellow countrymen from declaring war against Spain.

It was in 1739 that the commercial and colonial warfare was thus resumed,—involving at the outset only Spain and Great

**The War of Jenkins's Ear** Britain,—in a curious struggle commonly referred to as the War of Jenkins's Ear. A British fleet captured Porto Bello, but failed to take Cartagena. In North America the war was carried on fruitlessly by James Oglethorpe, who had recently (1733) founded the English colony of Georgia<sup>1</sup> to the south of Carolina, in territory claimed by the Spanish colony of Florida.

**King George's War** The War of Jenkins's Ear proved but a prelude to the resumption of hostilities on a large scale between France and Great Britain. It has already been explained how in 1740 the War of the Austrian Succession broke out on the continent of Europe—a war stubbornly fought for eight years, and a war in which Great Britain entered the lists for Maria Theresa of Austria against France and Prussia and other states.<sup>2</sup> The European conflict was naturally reflected in “King George’s War” (1744–1748) in America, and in simultaneous hostilities in India.

The only remarkable incident of King George’s War was the capture of Louisburg (1745) by Colonel William Pepperell of New Hampshire with a force of British colonists, who were sorely disappointed when, in 1748, the captured fortress was returned to France by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

The war in India was similarly indecisive. In 1746 a French squadron easily captured the British post at Madras; other British posts were attacked, and Dupleix defeated the nawab of the Carnatic, who would have punished him for violating Indian peace and neutrality. The tables were turned by the arrival of a British fleet in 1748, which laid siege to Dupleix in Pondicherry. At this juncture, news arrived that Great Britain and France had concluded the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), whereby all conquests, including Madras and Louisburg, were to be re-

<sup>1</sup> So named in honor of the then reigning King George II (1727–1760). Georgia was the last of the original thirteen English colonies along the Atlantic seaboard, and was established as a camp for transported criminals. Delaware had been set off from Pennsylvania in 1701, and Carolina had been divided into the two colonies of North and South Carolina in 1713.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 338–341.

stored. So far as Spain was concerned, Great Britain in 1750 renounced the privileges of the Asiento in return for a money payment of £100,000.

### 3. BRITAIN'S TRIUMPH OVER FRANCE

Up to this point, the wars between France and Great Britain had been generally indecisive, although Great Britain had secured title to Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia by the peace of Utrecht (1713). British naval power, too, was undoubtedly superior. But two great questions were still unanswered. Should France be allowed to make good her claim to the Mississippi valley and to confine the British in America to a narrow strip of seacoast? Should Dupleix, wily diplomat as he was, be allowed to make India a French empire? To these major disputes was added a minor quarrel over the boundary of Nova Scotia.

The decisive war was fought in the years between 1754 and 1763. France lost, and her loss was fourfold. (1) Her European armies were defeated in Germany by Frederick the Great, who was aided by English gold, in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763).<sup>1</sup> (2) At the same time her naval power was almost annihilated by the British, whose war vessels and privateers conquered most of the French West Indies and almost swept French commerce from the seas. (3) In India, the machinations of Dupleix were foiled by the equally astute but more martial Clive. (4) In America, the "French and Indian War" (1754-1763) dispelled the dream of a New France across the Atlantic. We shall first consider the war in the New World.

The immediate cause of the French and Indian War was a contest for the possession of the Ohio valley. The English had already organized an Ohio Company (1749) for colonization of the valley, but they did not fully realize the pressing need of action until the French had begun the construction of a line of forts in western Pennsylvania—Fort Presqu'Isle (Erie), Fort Le Boeuf (Waterford), and Fort Venango (Franklin). As the most important position—the junction of the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers—was still unoccupied, the Ohio Company, early in 1754, sent a small force to seize and fortify it. The French, however, were not to be so

The  
French  
and Indian  
War

<sup>1</sup> For the European aspects of this struggle, see above, pp. 341-344.

easily outwitted; they captured the newly built fort with its handful of defenders, enlarged it, and christened it Fort Duquesne in honor of the governor of Canada. Soon afterward a young Virginian, George Washington by name, arrived on the scene with four hundred men, too late to reënforce the English fort-builders, and he also was defeated on 4 July, 1754.

In the following year the British General Braddock arrived in America with a regular army and an ambitious plan to attack the French in three places—Crown Point (on Lake Champlain), Fort Niagara, and Fort Duquesne. But his forces were badly defeated at Fort Duquesne and he himself was killed. Repulsed at Niagara and Crown Point, the English contented themselves with building Forts Edward and William Henry on Lake George, while the French constructed the famous Fort Ticonderoga.<sup>1</sup>

The gloom which gathered about British fortunes seemed to increase during the year 1756. Great Britain's most valuable ally, Frederick the Great of Prussia, was defeated in Europe; an English squadron was worsted in the Mediterranean; the French captured the island of Minorca; and a British attack on the French fortress of Louisburg failed. To the French in America, the year 1756 brought Montcalm and continued success. The Marquis de Montcalm (1712–1759) had learned the art of war on European battlefields, but he readily adapted himself to frontier conditions, and proved to be an able commander of the French and Indian forces in the New World. The English fort of Oswego on Lake Ontario and Fort William Henry on Lake George were captured, and all the campaigns projected by the English were foiled.

In 1757, however, new vigor was infused into the war on the part of the British, largely by reason of the entrance of William Pitt (the Elder) into the cabinet. Pitt was determined to arouse all British subjects to fight for their country. Stirred with martial enthusiasm, colonial volunteers now joined with British regulars to provide a force of about 50,000 men for simultaneous attacks on four important French posts in America—Louisburg,

<sup>1</sup> This same year, 1755, so unfortunate for the English, was a cruel year. The French settlers in Nova Scotia; like so many cattle, seven thousand of them, were packed into English vessels and shipped to various parts of North America. The English feared their possible disloyalty.

Ticonderoga, Niagara, and Duquesne. The success of the attack on Louisburg (1758) was ensured by the support of a strong British squadron; Fort Duquesne was taken and renamed Fort Pitt<sup>1</sup> (1758); Ticonderoga repulsed one expedition (1758) but surrendered in July, 1759, one day after the capture of Fort Niagara by the British.

Not content with the capture of the menacing French outposts, the British next aimed at the central strongholds of the French. While one army marched up the Hudson valley to attack Montreal, General Wolfe, in command of another army of 7,000, and accompanied by a strong fleet, moved up the St. Lawrence against Quebec. An inordinate thirst for military glory had been Wolfe's heritage from his father, himself a general. An ensign at fourteen, Wolfe had become an officer in active service while still in his teens, had commanded a detachment in the attack on Louisburg in 1758, and now at the age of thirty-three was charged with the capture of Quebec, a natural stronghold, defended by the redoubtable Montcalm. The task seemed impossible; weeks were wasted in futile efforts; sickness and apparent defeat weighed heavily on the young commander. With the energy of despair he fastened at last upon a daring idea. Thirty-six hundred of his men were ferried in the dead of night to a point above the city where his soldiers might scramble through bushes and over rocks up a precipitous path to a high plateau—the Plains of Abraham—commanding the town.

Wolfe's presence on the heights was revealed at daybreak on 13 September, 1759, and Montcalm hastened to repel the attack. For a time it seemed as if Wolfe's force would be overpowered, but a well-directed volley and an impetuous charge threw the French lines into disorder. In the moment of victory, General Wolfe, already twice wounded, received a musket-ball in the breast. His death was made happy by the news of success, but no such exultation filled the heart of the mortally wounded Montcalm, dying in the bitterness of defeat.

Quebec surrendered a few days later. It was the beginning of the end of the French colonial empire in America. All hope was lost when, in October, 1759, a great armada, ready to embark against England, was destroyed in Quiberon Bay by Admiral

The  
British  
Conquest  
of Canada

<sup>1</sup> Whence the name of the modern city of Pittsburgh.

Hawke. In 1760 Montreal fell and the British completed the conquest of New France, at the very time when almost the last vestiges of French power were disappearing in India.

In his extremity, Louis XV of France secured the aid of his Bourbon kinsman, the king of Spain, against England, but Spain's assistance was unavailing, and in 1762 British squadrons captured Cuba and the Philippine Islands as well as the French possessions in the West Indies.

Let us now turn back and see how the loss of New France was paralleled by French defeat in the contest for the vastly more populous and opulent empire of India. The Mogul Empire, to

**The Mogul Empire in India** which reference has already been made, had been rapidly falling to pieces during the first half of the eighteenth century. The rulers or nawabs (nabobs) of the Deccan, of Bengal, and of Oudh had become semi-independent princes. In a time when conspiracy and intrigue were common avenues to power, the French governor, Dupleix, had conceived the idea of making himself the political leader of India, and in pursuit of his goal, as we have seen, he had affected Oriental magnificence and grandiloquent titles, had formed alliances with half the neighboring native magnates, had fortified Pondicherry; and begun the enrollment and organization of his sepoy army. In 1750 he succeeded in overthrowing the nawab of the Carnatic<sup>1</sup> and in establishing a pretender whom he could dominate more easily.

**British Successes in India under Clive** The hopes of the experienced and crafty Dupleix were frustrated, however, by a young man of twenty-seven—Robert Clive. At the age of eighteen, Clive had entered the employ of the English East India Company as a clerk at Madras. His restless and discontented spirit found relief, at times, in omnivorous reading; at other times he grew despondent. More than once he planned to take his own life. During the War of the Austrian Succession, he had resigned his civil post and entered the army. The hazards of military life were more to his liking, and he soon gave abundant evidence of ability. After the peace of 1748 he had returned to civil life, but in 1751 he came forward with a bold scheme for attacking Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic, and overthrowing

<sup>1</sup> The province in India which includes Madras and Pondicherry and has its capital at Arcot.

the upstart nawab who was supported by Dupleix. Clive could muster only some two hundred Europeans and three hundred sepoys, but this slender force, infused with the daring and irresistible determination of the young leader, sufficed to seize and hold the citadel of Arcot against thousands of assailants. With the aid of native and British reënforcements, the hero of Arcot proceeded to defeat the pretender; and, in 1754, the French had to acknowledge their failure in the Carnatic and withdraw support from their vanquished protégé. Dupleix was recalled to France in disgrace; and the British were left to enjoy the favor of the nawab who owed his throne to Clive.

Clive's next work was in Bengal. In 1756 the young nawab of Bengal, Suraj-ud-Dowlah by name, seized the English fort of Calcutta and locked 146 Englishmen overnight in a stifling prison—the "Black Hole" of Calcutta—from which only twenty-three emerged alive the next morning. Clive, hastening from Madras, chastised Suraj for this atrocity, and forced him to give up Calcutta. And since by this time Great Britain and France were openly at war, Clive did not hesitate to capture the near-by French post of Chandarnagar. His next move was to give active aid to a certain Mir Jafir, a pretender to the throne of the unfriendly Suraj-ud-Dowlah. The French naturally took sides with Suraj against Clive. In 1757 Clive drew up 1,100 Europeans, 2,100 sepoys, and nine cannon in a grove of mango trees at Plassey, a few miles south of the city of Murshidabad, and there attacked Suraj, who, with an army of 68,000 native troops and with French artillerymen to work his fifty-three cannon, anticipated an easy victory. The outcome was a brilliant victory for Clive, as overwhelming as it was unexpected. The British candidate forthwith became nawab of Bengal and as token of his indebtedness he paid over £1,500,000 to the English East India Company and made Clive a rich man. The British were henceforth dominant in Bengal. The recapture of Masulipatam in 1758, the defeat of the French at Wandewash, between Madras and Pondicherry, and the successful siege of Pondicherry in 1761, finally established the British as masters of the eastern coast of India.

\* The fall of Quebec (1759) and of Pondicherry (1761) practically decided the issue of the colonial struggle, but the war dragged on until, in 1763, France, Spain, and Great Britain

concluded the peace of Paris. Of her American possessions France retained only two insignificant islands on the Newfoundland coast,<sup>1</sup> a few islands in the West Indies,<sup>2</sup> and a

**The Peace of Paris** foothold in Guiana in South America. Great Britain

received from France the whole of the St. Lawrence valley and all the territory east of the Mississippi River, together with the island of Grenada in the West Indies; and from Spain, Great Britain secured Florida. Beyond the surrender of the sparsely settled territory of Florida, Spain suffered no loss, for Cuba and the Philippines were restored to her, and France gave her western Louisiana, that is, the western half of the Mississippi valley. The French were allowed to return to their old posts in India, but were not to build forts or to maintain troops in Bengal. In other words, the French returned to India as traders but not as empire builders.<sup>3</sup>

Thus, in the eighteenth century, did France suffer even more humiliating and overwhelming defeat at the hands of the British

**Destruction of the French Colonial Empire** than the Netherlands had suffered in the seventeenth century, or Spain in the sixteenth. Spain and the Netherlands had in turn been humbled and deprived of any monopoly of world-trade or world-dominion, but each still retained very valuable colonies—Spain in America and the Philippines, the Netherlands in the East Indies. France, however, was not only humbled but also shorn of almost all her overseas possessions and much of her overseas trade. It is true that France refused to regard her losses as permanent; her rivalry with Great Britain continued long after 1763. In the years immediately following the Seven Years' War, she made heroic and expensive efforts to rebuild her navy. In 1778 she undertook a war of revenge in concert with rebellious English colonies.<sup>4</sup> And much later, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, she was to succeed in building a new colonial empire, which would be larger than the one she had lost and second only to Britain's in size and strength.

Yet India and America were irretrievably lost to France in the eighteenth century. Her trade in India soon dwindled into

<sup>1</sup> St. Pierre and Miquelon.

<sup>2</sup> Including Guadeloupe and Martinique.

<sup>3</sup> During the war, the French posts in Africa had been taken, and now Gorée was returned while the mouth of the Senegal River was retained by the British.

<sup>4</sup> See below, pp. 484-486.

insignificance before the powerful and wealthy British East India Company. "French India" to-day consists of five insignificant towns, covering 196 square miles. French empire in America is now represented only by two puny islands off the coast of Newfoundland, two small islands in the West Indies, and an unimportant tract of tropical Guiana, but historic traces of its former greatness and promise have survived alike in Canada and in Louisiana. In Canada the French population has stubbornly held itself aloof from the British in language and in religion, and even to-day over a fourth of the ten million Canadians are of French descent, quite as intent on the preservation of their distinctive nationality as upon their allegiance to the British rule. In the United States the French element is less in evidence; nevertheless in New Orleans sidewalks are called "banquettes," and embankments, "levees"; and still the names of Champlain, Detroit, Terre Haute, Des Moines, St. Louis, Baton Rouge, and Mobile perpetuate the memory of a lost French empire.

#### 4. BRITAIN'S ACQUISITION OF INDIA AND AUSTRALIA

From two centuries of warfare with Spaniards, Dutch, and French, Great Britain emerged in 1763 as the foremost commercial and colonial power in the world. She was now mistress of all lands of the North American continent east of the Mississippi River, of valuable trading posts in the West Indies and on the western coast of Africa, and of the most promising parts of India. The actual area of her colonial empire was still somewhat less than Spain's and only slightly more than Portugal's,<sup>1</sup> but its population was considerably greater and its commerce was far more flourishing.

Besides, British overseas dominion continued to grow. Though it experienced a serious set-back in the revolt of thirteen colonies

<sup>1</sup> Spain's colonial empire embraced, in 1763, all of South America (except Brazil and Guiana), Central America (except British Honduras), Mexico, North America west of the Mississippi, the major part of the West Indies (including Cuba, eastern Hispaniola, and Porto Rico), the Canary Islands, and the Philippine Islands. Portugal, at the same date, still retained Brazil, the Angola and Mozambique coasts of Africa, the three towns of Goa, Diu, and Daman in India, and the Azores, Madeira, and Cape Verde Islands. The Netherlands, it may be added, still held Ceylon, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes, the Moluccas (Spice Islands), western New Guinea, South Africa, a few small islands in the West Indies, and Surinam (Dutch Guiana) in South America.

on the North American coast,<sup>1</sup> it steadily advanced, during the latter part of the eighteenth century, in Asia and Oceania.

Especially in India did British dominion grow. Until the Seven Years' War India had been viewed by Englishmen as a field for ~~Expansion of British~~ profitable trade but not as a country to be conquered and administered by themselves. The English East India Company had built forts and established commercial posts ("factories") in particular coastal cities and had negotiated with native princes for economic advantages, but the company had not attempted to exercise any extensive political control. With the Seven Years' War, matters changed. While profitable trade continued to be the chief end of British policy in India, the means became increasingly political. More and more the officials of the English East India Company interfered in the complicated internal politics of India. More and more they brought native princes under British tutelage or sovereignty. It was a lesson which Clive had learned from Dupleix and the French.

At the close of the Seven Years' War in 1763, the British found themselves relieved of any serious competition in India, whether commercial or political, with other Europeans.<sup>2</sup> The war had seemingly settled the predominance of the British over their latest and most dangerous rivals, the French. At the same time, the war had firmly entrenched the British in certain strategic areas where they could exercise political, as well as economic, control. Clive's victory at Plassey (1757) had really inaugurated a British political empire in India; it had conferred upon the English East India Company the actual, if not the nominal, sovereignty of Bengal (around Calcutta).

Yet in 1763 the British political "empire" in India was territorially small. It comprised Calcutta and the lower Ganges basin (Bengal) in the northeast, Madras and a few scattered strips along the southeast coast, and the strongly fortified port of Bombay on the west. Besides, though they had gotten rid of the French menace, the British were now confronted with an especially chaotic internal situation in

<sup>1</sup> For the American Revolution, see below, pp. 469-490.

<sup>2</sup> France still held five commercial stations, and Portugal three, while the Dutch continued to occupy Ceylon. But the trade of all these was insignificant in comparison with the trade of the flourishing British stations.

India which threatened alike their economic prosperity and their political "empire," but which, paradoxically, might be utilized by them to expand their empire and to assure their prosperity.

During the years immediately following 1763 India was in wild turmoil. The decline of the Mogul Empire continued. Most of its viceroys and local governors, the so-called nawabs, had set themselves up as independent princes, and they now warred almost constantly against one another, without let or hindrance from the Great Mogul at Delhi, and with great destructiveness. Worst of all, a group of princes of the Mahratta people in central and western India had formed a confederacy which, holding sway over a large part of the peninsula, wrought havoc in the decaying empire and gravely menaced the English settlements on the coasts.

As Clive had been the real creator of British empire in India, so he was the formulator of the policy under which this empire was preserved and enlarged. In 1765, after a well-earned rest in England, Clive, now ennobled as Lord Clive of Plassey, returned to the governorship of Calcutta and at once adopted the policy of championing against native forces of disorder and destruction the cause of the Great Mogul and of any prince who desired peace and order. He paid ostentatious honor to the Great Mogul and posed as the special friend of such native princes as pretended to respect the sovereignty of the Mogul empire. By favoring the Mogul emperor, he obtained from him numerous favors for himself and the English East India Company, and he always kept up the pretence that favors received by the British really served the interest of the Great Mogul and his loyal nawabs. For example, in Bengal, Clive meticulously observed the form of vassalage to the native empire; he retained the local nawab as official representative of the Great Mogul and of native interests in the province; but, with the acquiescence of the nominal emperor, he saw to it that British officials, rather than the native nawab, levied the taxes in Bengal, organized and commanded the army, and in general governed the province. To Bengal, moreover, Clive added, by treaties with local nawabs or with the grateful emperor, other provinces, notably Behar (up the Ganges) and the Circars (down the east coast); and in these provinces he pursued a like policy. When Clive finally returned to England in 1767,

Clive's  
Creation  
of British  
Empire  
in India

he left behind him in India a larger and stronger British dominion.<sup>1</sup>

**The Work of Hastings in India** Clive's policy was continued and improved upon by Warren Hastings, another extraordinary agent of the English East India Company. Hastings had first entered the employ of the Company at the age of seventeen, and an apprenticeship of over twenty years in India had browned his face and inured his lean body to the peculiarities of the climate, as well as given him a thorough insight into native politics and character. In 1772 he succeeded to the governorship of Bengal, and two years later he became the first governor-general of all the English possessions in India.<sup>2</sup> For the first time, the three hitherto separate "presidencies" of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay were thus united under a common administration, of which Hastings remained the head until 1785.

Against the Mahratta Confederacy, Hastings waged war from 1774 to 1782, incessant, perilous, but on the whole advantageous to the British. First, with the support of certain nawabs whose territories were threatened, he defeated the Mahrattas in northern India and prevented them from appropriating the native states along the Ganges. Next, he successfully defended Bombay against a determined assault by the Mahrattas. Finally, after most desperate and ruthless fighting, he managed to curb the pretensions of an ambitious Moslem chieftain, Hyder Ali by name, who had made himself sultan of Mysore (in southern India) and in alliance with the Mahrattas had sought to extend his state at British expense. Mysore was held in check; the Mahrattas made peace by ceding to the British the town of Salsette

<sup>1</sup> Clive offended many under-officials of the English East India Company by attempting to prohibit their acceptance of bribes from natives, and on his return to England some of them pressed charges against him (doubtless true) that he had employed his powers in India to obtain illicit gains for himself. Parliament pronounced him guilty, and under stress of his disgrace his mind became partially unhinged, and in 1774 he finally did what in youth he had contemplated: he committed suicide.

<sup>2</sup> In accordance with the "Regulating Act" of 1773, whereby the British parliament enacted that there should be one governor-general for all British Indian provinces and that all officials of the East India Company should be confirmed by the king. This was the first formal recognition that India was the seat of a British empire and not merely of a private trading company. Another act of parliament, in 1785, went farther in the same direction and set up in London a governmental "Board of Control" to supervise the policies and activities of the East India Company.

(near Bombay); and the Mogul emperor gratefully suffered the inclusion of the "holy city" of Benares (on the Ganges) in the British province of Bengal.

Not only did Hastings enlarge the British empire in India. He improved and centralized its administration. He reformed the finances and police-system. He converted a primarily military occupation into a stable civil government. At the same time he was not neglectful of opportunities to secure financial profits for the stockholders of the English East India Company and for himself. Eventually Hastings was called to England to answer charges in parliament against his official conduct, and the famous Edmund Burke, with all the force of oratory and hatred, attempted to convict the redoubtable governor-general of "high crimes and misdemeanors." But the tirades of Burke proved powerless to win from a patriotic assembly the conviction of a man who had exalted his country's glory and power in India.

In the eighteenth century, after Hastings, two other great governors of the English East India Company did signal service in empire-building. One was Lord Cornwallis, who had recently surrendered a British army to British rebels in America<sup>1</sup> and who was as successful in India (1786–1793) as he had been unfortunate on the other side of the world. The second was the marquess of Wellesley, who was always an ardent imperialist and proved himself in India (1798–1805) a military genius. Under these governors, Mysore and the Mahratta Confederacy were again fought and were decisively defeated; and British dominion was extended rapidly and widely. In the east, Orissa and Guntur were acquired; in the south Travancore, the Carnatic, and a large part of Mysore; in the west, Malabar and Broach. In the north, the native prince of the large state of Oude became a protégé of the British, and in 1803 Delhi, the capital of the old Mogul empire, was "rescued" from the Mahrattas and appropriated by the British, the Great Mogul being gently pushed into richly ornamental seclusion.

Cornwallis and  
Wellesley  
in India

When Lord Wellesley returned home in 1805, the greater part of the huge and varied land of India was dominated, if not actually governed, by the English East India Company and constituted a veritable British empire. The Mogul emperor was now a cringing creature, anxious only to please the British and to

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 485.

retain a show of majesty. The majority of the native nawabs and princes were in pay or in awe of the British governor-general at Calcutta. British power and British trade were becoming synonymous, and they were paramount in India.<sup>1</sup>

Outside of India, the trade and political power of the English East India Company were expanding. In the strategic straits between Sumatra and the Malay peninsula, the ocean gateway from India to China and Japan, the company acquired Penang from a native prince in 1785 and Malacca from the Dutch in 1795. These acquisitions were the beginnings of the present-day British colony of the Straits Settlements.<sup>2</sup>

Simultaneously, Ceylon was taken from the Dutch (1795), and the British increased the number of convenient stopping places and fortified stations on the long water route around Africa from England to India. Thus, they founded the colony of Sierra Leone on the west coast of Africa (1787), ostensibly as a refuge for freed slaves. They occupied several groups of islands, including the Seychelles, off the east coast (1794).<sup>3</sup> And they wrested Cape Town and South Africa from the Dutch (1795).<sup>4</sup> In South Africa the British were eventually to build an important dominion.

In the second half of the eighteenth century the British also sowed the seed for another and even more significant overseas achievement—the colonization of a whole continent. For it was then that they struck roots into Australia.

<sup>1</sup> British domination of India, and likewise British expansion in the Straits Settlements and in Australia (to which we shall presently refer), was rendered easier, at the close of the eighteenth century and during the first decade of the nineteenth, by the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, in which Britain was victorious over France and Holland. On these wars, see below, pp. 710–714.

<sup>2</sup> The very important port of Singapore, now the capital of the Straits Settlements, was acquired by the English East India Company from a native prince in 1819. Malacca, it may be noted, was returned to the Dutch in 1818 but recovered by the British in 1824.

<sup>3</sup> The Seychelles had been a French possession.

<sup>4</sup> South Africa was restored to the Dutch in 1803 but reverted finally to the British in 1806.

Ever since the sixteenth century there had been gossip among mariners and geographers about a continent in the southern Pacific, and early in the seventeenth century a Portuguese pilot, De Quirós by name, in the service of Philip III of Spain, had searched eagerly and had almost (but not quite) found the "Terra Australis." Shortly afterwards, Dutch sailors from the East Indies had actually visited and explored the west coast of the continent, had called it "New Holland," and had reported its unprofitable and forbidding appearance; and in 1642 the famous Dutch captain Tasman had charted its southern and southeastern shores and named one region of it "Van Diemen's Land" in honor of his superior at Batavia. In 1688 an English buccaneer, William Dampier, on a wild and most adventurous circumnavigation of the globe, stumbled on to "New Holland" and wrote such an interesting account of what he saw that the British government commissioned him ten years later to return and survey the country. He returned, landed at Shark's Bay (on the west coast), and did some surveying. But little came of the work of this astounding buccaneer except considerable popular interest at home in his travel-books.

Gradual  
Growth of  
Knowl-  
edge  
about  
Australia

"New  
Holland"

Though Australia was known in a general way to the Dutch in the seventeenth century and though it was twice visited by an Englishman at the close of that century, knowledge of it remained slight and vague. Its occupation by Europeans was delayed until after the sensational voyages of Captain James Cook in the latter part of the eighteenth century. James Cook (1728-1779), the son of an agricultural laborer in Yorkshire, was apprenticed as a boy to an English firm of shipowners and learned much about the sea from voyages he made for them to Norway and the Baltic. At the age of twenty-seven he enlisted in the royal navy and during the Seven Years' War he saw active service against the French in American waters. After a four-year employment as marine surveyor of Newfoundland, he was at length appointed to conduct a British expedition of geographical exploration in the South Seas. Three such expeditions he actually made, and his discoveries, combined with remarkable powers of leadership,

The Ex-  
plorations  
of Captain  
Cook

observation and description, entitle him to rank as one of the greatest explorers of all time and incidentally as one of the master-builders of the British Empire.

On his first voyage (1768-1770), Cook visited Tahiti, explored the Friendly Islands, circumnavigated and charted the shore of New Zealand, and, proceeding to "New Holland," surveyed its whole east coast with minute care and rechristened it "New South Wales." Landing at Botany Bay (near the site of present-day Sydney), he took formal possession of it for Great Britain. On his second voyage (1772-1775), he revisited Australia and New Zealand, discovered New Caledonia, and by sailing completely around the southern hemisphere (south of Australia, Africa, and South America) convinced himself of the fact that there was no continent in the south seas—no "Terra Australis"—except that which the Dutch had called "New Holland" and which he had renamed "New South Wales." On his third voyage (1776-1779), Cook rediscovered the Hawaiian islands, which had been visited by Spaniards in the sixteenth century but which had since been forgotten; he called them the Sandwich Islands, in honor of the English nobleman who was then chief of the British navy. After cruising in the northern Pacific and exploring the straits between Siberia and Alaska, Cook returned to Hawaii and was killed in a skirmish with its natives in 1779. The British government never gave to James Cook the recognition and honor which he merited both as a man of science and as the pioneer of British imperialism in the South Seas.

The British government was not slow, however, to exploit the discoveries of Cook. In 1786 the eastern half of Australia was formally erected as the British territory of New South Wales, and in 1788 the first British settlement was made near Botany Bay at a point called Port Jackson and now known as Sydney. This first settlement was of convicts, and New South Wales served for fifty years as a kind of open-air prison for British criminals. With criminals, however, an increasing number of venturesome freemen went out from Great Britain and settled in Australia, and gradually, in the early part of the nineteenth century New South Wales was subdivided. Van Diemen's Land, originally settled at Hobart in 1803 as a subcolony of convicts, was separated from

British  
Occupation  
of  
Australia

New South Wales in 1825 and subsequently became the self-governing colony of Tasmania. The town of Brisbane was founded in 1825, Melbourne in 1835, and Adelaide in 1836; these towns subsequently became the respective capitals of the colonies of Queensland, Victoria, and South Australia, which in turn were detached from New South Wales. In the meantime, western Australia had been appropriated as a new British colony (1829) and settlements had been effected in it at Albany (1826) and Perth (1829). In New Zealand, English Protestant missionaries established themselves in 1814, but the immigration of British colonists and the formation of British government did not begin until about 1840.

At any rate, it was obvious by the close of the eighteenth century that Great Britain was gaining, while other European powers were losing, in the race for colonial dominion and commercial supremacy throughout the non-European world. Britain, if forced to part with thirteen of her oldest colonies in North America, was vigorously extending her sway in Canada, in the West Indies, in India, in South Africa, in the Straits Settlements, in Australia, and in islands scattered over the seas and oceans. Thanks to the maritime decline of Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, and France—a decline which Britain had materially assisted and speeded—she was already in possession of an empire wider, richer, and more diverse than that of a Caesar or an Alexander. Already it promised to spread the English language and the English nation as no other tongue or tribe had ever spread.

Even more important than the vast land empire which Great Britain was erecting was the command of the sea which she was clearly securing against all rivals. Already her navy was the most powerful in the world. It was enabling her armed forces to seize whatever foreign coastal stations seemed to block or threaten her commercial routes. It was likewise enabling her merchant ships to supplant on the high seas many a merchantman of Spaniard, Netherlander, or Frenchman and to obtain the lion's share of the carrying trade, not only between Britain and her overseas colonies, but between Europe and the rest of the world.

With the expansion of British trade went an astounding growth

of British capitalism. By the eighteenth century London was supplanting Amsterdam as the chief banking centre of the world. The Bank of England, established originally in 1694 and re-chartered on a broader basis in 1709, speedily became the foremost financial institution. Numerous private banks were founded, including the famous Barclay's (early in the eighteenth century) and Lloyd's (in 1765). The London clearing house was organized about the middle of the century, and the London stock exchange in 1773. Some of the immediate effects of this growth of British capitalism are discussed in the following chapter. (See below, pp. 465-469.)

From her dominions beyond the seas and from her ships upon the seas Great Britain drew ever increasing power and prestige. British merchants grew wealthy, with resulting social and political significance to themselves and to their country. And British capitalism received that final stimulation which prepared the way for the Industrial Revolution of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and for the evolution of our strictly contemporary civilization.



## APPENDIX

### RULERS OF EUROPEAN STATES, 1500-1830

#### ALBANIA

*To Ottoman Empire, 1478-1913*

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#### AUSTRIA

Maximilian I, <i>archduke</i> , 1493-1519	Leopold I, 1658-1705
Charles I, 1519-1520 ( <i>Holy Roman Emperor as Charles V</i> , 1519-1558; <i>king of Spain; prince of the Netherlands</i> )	Joseph I, 1705-1711
Ferdinand I, 1520-1564	Charles II ( <i>VI as Holy Roman Emperor</i> ), 1711-1740
Maximilian II, 1564-1576	Maria Theresa, 1740-1780
Rudolph II, 1576-1612	Joseph II, 1780-1790 ( <i>Holy Roman Emperor</i> , 1765-1790)
Matthias, 1612-1619	Leopold II, 1790-1792
Ferdinand II, 1619-1637	Francis I, <i>archduke</i> , 1792-1804 ( <i>Holy Roman Emperor</i> , 1792-1806); <i>emperor</i> , 1804-1835
Ferdinand III, 1637-1657	Ferdinand I, <i>emperor</i> , 1835-1848

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#### BAVARIA

Albert IV, <i>duke</i> , 1465-1508	Charles Albert, 1726-1745 ( <i>Holy Roman Emperor as Charles VII</i> , 1742-1745)
William IV, 1508-1550	Maximilian III Joseph, 1745-1777
Albert V, 1550-1579	Charles Theodore, 1778-1799
William V, 1579-1598	Maximilian IV Joseph, <i>elector</i> , 1790-1806; <i>king</i> , 1806-1825
Maximilian I, <i>elector</i> , 1598-1651	Louis I, <i>king</i> , 1825-1848
Ferdinand Maria, 1651-1679	
Maximilian II Emmanuel, 1679-1726	

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#### BELGIUM

<i>To Spain, 1504-1713</i>	<i>To France, 1797-1815</i>
<i>To Austria, 1713-1797</i>	<i>To Holland, 1815-1830</i>

Leopold I, *king*, 1831-1865

## APPENDIX

## BOHEMIA

Ladislaus II, *king*, 1471-1516      Louis, 1516-1526  
*To Austria, 1526-1918*

## BRANDENBURG

*See Prussia*

## BULGARIA

*To Ottoman Empire, 1393-1878*

## CROATIA

*To Hungary, 1102-1918*

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

*See Bohemia; Slovakia*

## DENMARK

John, <i>king</i> , 1481-1513	Christian V, 1670-1699
Christian II, 1513-1523	Frederick IV, 1699-1730
Frederick I, 1523-1533	Christian VI, 1730-1746
Christian III, 1533-1559	Frederick V, 1746-1766
Frederick II, 1559-1588	Christian VII, 1766-1808
Christian IV, 1588-1648	Frederick VI, 1808-1839
Frederick III, 1648-1670	Christian VIII, 1839-1848

## DUTCH NETHERLANDS

*See Holland*

## ENGLAND

*See Great Britain*

## ESTONIA

*To Teutonic Knights, 1346-1561      To Sweden, 1561-1721*  
*To Russian Empire, 1721-1918*

## FINLAND

*To Sweden, 1290-1809**To Russian Empire, 1809-1918*

## FLORENCE

*See Tuscany*

## FRANCE

Louis XI, *king*, 1461-1483  
 Charles VIII, 1483-1498  
 Louis XII, 1498-1515  
 Francis I, 1515-1547  
 Henry II, 1547-1559  
 Francis II, 1559-1560  
 Charles IX, 1560-1574  
 Henry III, 1574-1589  
 Henry IV, 1589-1610  
 Louis XIII, 1610-1643  
 Louis XIV, 1643-1715

Louis XV, 1715-1774  
 Louis XVI, 1774-1792  
*The First Republic, 1792-1804*  
     The Convention, 1792-1795  
     The Directory, 1795-1799  
     The Consulate (Napoleon Bonaparte as *First Consul*), 1799-1804  
 Napoleon I, *emperor*, 1804-1814  
 Louis XVIII, *king*, 1814-1824  
 Charles X, 1824-1830  
 Louis Philippe, 1830-1848

## GERMANY

*To Holy Roman Empire, to 1806*  
*German Confederation under presidency of Austria, 1815-1866*

*See Austria; Bavaria; Holy Roman Empire; Prussia; Saxony*

## GREAT BRITAIN

*Sovereigns of England and Ireland, 1485-1707*

Henry VII, *king*, 1485-1509  
 Henry VIII, 1509-1547  
 Edward VI, 1547-1553  
 Mary I, 1553-1558  
 Elizabeth, 1558-1603  
 James I (*VI of Scotland*), 1603-1625  
 Charles I, 1625-1649  
 Anne, 1702-1714 (*of Great Britain after 1707*)

*The Commonwealth, 1649-1660*  
     (Oliver Cromwell)  
 Charles II, 1660-1685  
 James II (*VII of Scotland*), 1685-1688  
 William III and Mary II, 1689-1694  
 William III, 1694-1702

*Sovereigns of Scotland, 1488-1707*

James IV, *king*, 1488-1513  
 James V, 1513-1542  
 Mary (Stuart), 1542-1567  
 James VI, 1567-1625 (*James I of England, 1603-1625*)

[*Succession as in England and Ireland, 1603-1707, and as in Great Britain after 1707*]

## APPENDIX

### *Sovereigns of Great Britain*

Anne, *queen*, 1707-1714  
 George I, *king*, 1714-1727  
 George II, 1727-1760  
 Victoria, *queen*, 1837-1901

George III, 1760-1820  
 George IV, 1820-1830  
 William IV, 1830-1837

### *Some Prominent Ministers of Great Britain*

Sir Robert Walpole, 1721-1742  
 William Pitt (earl of Chatham),  
 1756-1761  
 George Grenville, 1763-1765  
 William Pitt (earl of Chatham),  
 1766-1768  
 Lord North, 1770-1782  
 Earl of Shelburne, 1782-1783  
 William Pitt (the younger), 1783-  
 1801, 1804-1806  
 Earl of Liverpool, 1812-1827 (Vis-  
 count Castlereagh, *Foreign Secre-  
 tary*, 1812-1822; George Canning,  
*Foreign Secretary*, 1822-1827)

George Canning, 1827  
 Duke of Wellington, 1828-1830  
 Earl Grey, 1830-1834 (Viscount  
 Palmerston, *Foreign Secretary*).  
 Viscount Melbourne, 1834  
 Sir Robert Peel, 1834-1835  
 Viscount Melbourne, 1835-1841  
 (Viscount Palmerston, *Foreign  
 Secretary*)  
 Sir Robert Peel, 1841-1846  
 Lord John Russell (Earl Russell),  
 1846-1852 (Viscount Palmerston,  
*Foreign Secretary*)

### GREECE

To Ottoman Empire, 1453-1829      Republic, 1829-1832  
 Otto I, *king*, 1832-1862

### HOLLAND

To Spain, 1504-1581  
 William the Silent, *stadholder*, 1581-  
 1584  
 Maurice, 1584-1625  
 Frederick Henry, 1625-1647  
 William II, 1647-1650  
 John DeWitt, *grand pensionary*,  
 1650-1672  
 William III, *stadholder*, 1672-1702  
 (*king of England and Scotland*,  
 1689-1702)

William IV, *nominal stadholder*,  
 1711-1747; *hereditary stadholder*,  
 1747-1751  
 William V, 1751-1795  
 Republic, 1795-1806  
 Louis Bonaparte, *king*, 1806-1810  
 To France, 1810-1813  
 William I, *king*, 1813-1840  
 William II, 1840-1849

### HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

Maximilian I, *emperor*, 1493-1519  
 Charles V, 1519-1558  
 Ferdinand I, 1558-1564

Maximilian II, 1564-1576  
 Rudolph II, 1576-1612  
 Matthias, 1612-1619

## RULERS OF EUROPEAN STATES, 1500-1830 427

Ferdinand II, 1619-1637  
Ferdinand III, 1637-1657  
Leopold I, 1658-1705  
Joseph I, 1705-1711  
Charles VI, 1711-1740  
Charles VII, 1742-1745

Francis I, 1745-1765  
Joseph II, 1765-1790  
Leopold II, 1790-1792  
Francis II, 1792-1806 (after 1804  
" Francis I, emperor of Austria)

### HUNGARY

Ladislaus II, *king*, 1490-1516

Louis II, 1516-1526

*Same rulers as Austria, 1526-1918*

### IRELAND

*See Great Britain*

### ITALY

*See Lombardy; Naples; Papacy; Sardinia; Savoy; Sicily; Tuscany; Venice*

### LATVIA (LETTLAND)

*To Teutonic Knights, 1237-1549  
To Poland, 1549-1629*

*To Sweden, 1629-1721  
To Russian Empire, 1721-1918*

### LITHUANIA

*To Poland, 1501-1793*

*To Russian Empire, 1793-1918*

### LIVONIA

*See Latvia*

### LOMBARDY (MILAN)

*Sforza family, 1450-1535  
To Spain, 1535-1714*

*To Austria, 1714-1797  
To France, 1797-1815  
To Austria, 1815-1860*

## APPENDIX

## MONTENEGRO

*To Ottoman Empire, 1490-1696*      Sava and Vasilije, 1735-1782  
*Danilo, prince-bishop, 1696-1735*      Peter I, *prince*, 1782-1830  
*Peter II, 1830-1851*

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## NAPLES

<i>Aragon (Spain), 1443-1713</i>	Joseph Bonaparte, 1806-1808
<i>Austria, 1713-1738</i>	Joachim Murat, 1809-1815
<i>Charles III, king, 1738-1759 (king of Spain, 1759-1788)</i>	Ferdinand I, 1815-1825
<i>Charles IV, 1759-1806</i>	Francis I, 1825-1830
	Ferdinand II, 1830-1859

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## NETHERLANDS, BELGIAN

*See Belgium*

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## NETHERLANDS, DUTCH

*See Holland*

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## NORWAY

*To Denmark, 1397-1814*

*To Sweden, 1814-1905*

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## OTTOMAN EMPIRE

<i>Mohammed II, sultan, 1451-1481</i>	Mohammed IV, 1648-1687
<i>Bayezid II, 1481-1512</i>	Suleiman III, 1687-1691
<i>Selim I, 1512-1520</i>	Ahmed II, 1691-1695
<i>Suliman II, "the Magnificent," 1520-1566</i>	Mustapha II, 1695-1703
<i>Selim II, 1566-1574</i>	Ahmed III, 1703-1730
<i>Murad IX, 1574-1595</i>	Mahmud I, 1730-1754
<i>Mohammed III, 1595-1603</i>	Othman III, 1754-1757
<i>Ahmed I, 1603-1617</i>	Mustapha III, 1757-1773
<i>Mustapha I, 1617-1618</i>	Abdul Hamid I, 1773-1789
<i>Othman II, 1618-1623</i>	Selim III, 1789-1807
<i>Murad IV, 1623-1640</i>	Mustapha IV, 1807-1808
<i>Ibrahim, 1640-1648</i>	Mahmud II, 1808-1839
	Abdul Medjid, 1839-1861

## PAPACY

Alexander VI, *pope*, 1492-1503  
 Pius III, 1503  
 Julius II, 1503-1513  
 Leo X, 1513-1521  
 Adrian VI, 1522-1523  
 Clement VII, 1523-1534  
 Paul III, 1534-1549  
 Julius III, 1550-1555  
 Marcellus II, 1555  
 Paul IV, 1555-1559  
 Pius IV, 1559-1565  
 Pius V, 1566-1572  
 Gregory XIII, 1572-1585  
 Sixtus V, 1585-1590  
 Urban VII, 1590  
 Gregory XIV, 1590-1591  
 Innocent IX, 1591  
 Clement VIII, 1592-1605  
 Leo XI, 1605  
 Paul V, 1605-1621  
 Gregory XV, 1621-1623

Urban VIII, 1623-1644  
 Innocent X, 1644-1655  
 Alexander VII, 1655-1667  
 Clement IX, 1667-1669  
 Clement X, 1670-1676  
 Innocent XI, 1676-1689  
 Alexander VIII, 1689-1691  
 Innocent XII, 1691-1700  
 Clement XI, 1700-1721  
 Innocent XIII, 1721-1724  
 Benedict XIII, 1724-1730  
 Clement XII, 1730-1740  
 Benedict XIV, 1740-1758  
 Clement XIII, 1758-1769  
 Clement XIV, 1769-1774  
 Pius VI, 1775-1799  
 Pius VII, 1800-1823  
 Leo XII, 1823-1829  
 Pius VIII, 1829-1830  
 Gregory XVI, 1831-1846  
 Pius IX, 1846-1878

## PIEDMONT

*See Savoy*

## POLAND

John Albert, *king*, 1492-1501  
 Alexander, 1501-1506  
 Sigismund I, 1506-1548  
 Sigismund II, 1548-1572  
 Henry of Valois, 1573-1574 (*Henry III of France*, 1574-1589)  
 Stephen Bathory, 1575-1586 (prince of Transylvania)  
 Sigismund III Vasa, 1587-1632  
 Ladislaus IV, 1632-1648  
 John II Casimir, 1648-1668  
 Michael Wisniowiecki, 1669-1673  
 John III Sobieski, 1674-1696  
 Augustus II, 1697-1704 (*elector of Saxony*)

Stanislaus I Leszczynski, 1704-1709  
 Augustus II (*restored*), 1709-1733  
 Stanislaus I Leszczynski (*restored*), 1733-1734  
 Augustus III, 1734-1763 (*elector of Saxony*)  
 Stanislaus II Poniatowski, 1764-1795  
*Partitioned among Russia, Prussia, and Austria, 1795-1918*  
*Grand-Duchy of Warsaw, 1807-1815*  
*"Congress" Poland, 1815-1831*  
*Alexander I, *king*, 1815-1825*  
*Nicholas I, 1825-1831*  
*To Russia, 1831-1918*

## PORTUGAL

Emmanuel I, <i>king</i> , 1495-1521	Joseph, 1750-1777
John III, 1521-1557	Maria I and Peter III, 1776-1786
Sebastian, 1557-1578	Maria I, 1786-1816
Henry, 1578-1580	John VI, 1816-1826
<i>To Spain</i> , 1580-1640	Peter IV, 1826 ( <i>Peter I, emperor of Brazil</i> , 1826-1831)
John IV, 1640-1656	Maria II, 1826-1828
Alphonso VI, 1656-1667	Miguel, 1828-1834
Peter II, 1667-1706	Maria II, 1834-1853
John V, 1706-1750	

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## PRUSSIA

*Electors of Brandenburg*

Joachim I, <i>elector</i> , 1499-1535	George William, 1619-1640
Joachim II, 1535-1571	Frederick William, "The Great Elector," 1640-1688
John George, 1571-1598	Frederick III, 1688-1701 ( <i>Frederick I, king in Prussia</i> , 1701-1713)
Joachim Frederick, 1598-1608	
John Sigismund, 1608-1619	

*Kings of Prussia*

Frederick I, <i>king</i> , 1701-1713	Frederick William II, 1786-1797
Frederick William I, 1713-1740	Frederick William III, 1797-1840
Frederick II, "the Great," 1740-1786	Frederick William IV, 1840-1861

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## RUMANIA

*To Ottoman Empire, 1500-1856*

## RUSSIAN EMPIRE

Ivan III, "the Great," <i>tsar</i> , 1462-1505	Catherine I, 1725-1727
Basil IV, 1505-1533	Peter II, 1727-1730
Ivan IV, "the Terrible," 1533-1584	Anna, 1730-1740
Theodore I, 1584-1598	Ivan VI, 1740-1741
Boris Godunov, 1598-1605	Elizabeth, 1741-1762
Michael, 1613-1645	Peter III, 1762
Alexius, 1645-1676	Catherine II, "the Great," 1762-1796
Theodore II, 1676-1682	Paul, 1796-1801
Ivan V and Peter I, 1682-1689	Alexander I, 1801-1825
Peter I, "the Great," 1689-1725	Nicholas I, 1825-1855

## SARDINIA

*To Aragon (Spain), 1326-1713* Savoy, who became kings of Sardinia;  
*To Austria, 1713-1720* 1720  
*Joined with Piedmont under dukes of* See Savoy

## SAVOY

*Dukes of Savoy*

Philip II, duke, 1497-1504	Victor Amadeus I, 1630-1637
Charles III, 1504-1553	Charles Emmanuel II, 1638-1675
Emmanuel Philibert, 1553-1580	Victor Amadeus II, 1675-1730 (king
Emmanuel I, "the Great," 1580- 1630	of Sardinia, 1720-1730)

*Kings of Sardinia*

Victor Amadeus II, king, 1720-1730	Charles Emmanuel IV, 1796-1802
Charles Emmanuel III, 1730-1773	Victor Emmanuel I, 1802-1821
Victor Amadeus III, 1773-1796	Charles Felix, 1821-1831
	Charles Albert, 1831-1848

## SAXONY

Frederick, "the Wise," elector, 1486- 1525	Frederick Augustus I, 1694-1733 (king of Poland as Augustus II, 1697-1704, 1709-1733)
John, 1525-1532	Frederick Augustus II, 1733-1763 (king of Poland as Augustus III, 1734-1763)
John Frederick, 1532-1547	Frederick Augustus III, elector, 1763-1806; king, 1806-1827
Maurice, 1547-1553	Anthony, king, 1827-1836
Augustus, 1553-1586	Frederick Augustus II, 1836-1854
Christian I, 1586-1591	
Christian II, 1591-1611	
John George I, 1611-1656	
John George II, III, and IV, 1656- 1694	

## SCOTLAND

*See Great Britain*

## SERBIA

To Ottoman Empire, 1386-1812	Milan, 1839
Karageorge, prince, 1812-1813	Michael, 1839-1842
Miloš, 1817-1839	Alexander, 1842-1859

## SICILY

*To Aragon (Spain), 1209-1713  
To Savoy, 1713-1720*

*To Austria, 1720-1736  
To Naples, 1736-1860*

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## SLAVONIA

*See Croatia*

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## SLOVAKIA

*To Hungary, 906-1918*

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## SLOVENIA (CARNIOLA, ETC.)

*Slovenia, 1300-1809*

*To France, 1809-1813*

*To Austria, 1813-1918*

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## SPAIN

Ferdinand and Isabella, <i>king and queen, 1479-1504</i>	Philip IV, 1621-1665
Ferdinand and Philip I, 1504-1506	Charles II, 1665-1700
Ferdinand and Charles I, 1506-1516	Philip V, 1700-1746
Charles I, 1516-1556 ( <i>Holy Roman Emperor as Charles V</i> )	Ferdinand VI, 1746-1759
Philip II, 1556-1598	Charles III, 1759-1788
Philip III, 1598-1621	Charles IV, 1788-1808
	Joseph Bonaparte, 1808-1813
	Ferdinand VII, 1813-1833
	Isabella II, 1833-1868

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## SWEDEN

<i>To Denmark, 1397-1523</i>	Charles XI, 1660-1697
Gustavus I Vasa, <i>king, 1523-1560</i>	Charles XII, 1697-1718
Eric XIV, 1560-1568	Ulrica Eleonora, 1718-1720
John III, 1568-1592	Frederick I, 1720-1751
Sigismund, 1592-1599 ( <i>king of Poland, 1587-1632</i> )	Adolphus Frederick, 1751-1771
Charles IX, 1599-1611	Gustavus III, 1771-1792
Gustavus II Adolphus, 1611-1632	Gustavus IV, 1792-1809
Christina, 1632-1654	Charles XIII, 1809-1818
Charles X, 1654-1660	Charles XIV, Bernadotte, 1818-1844
	Oscar I, 1844-1859

TUSCANY

Francesco I, Duke, 1543-1537  
Cosimo I, Grand duke, 1537-1574  
Ferdinando I, 1574-1587  
Grand Duke, 1587-1605  
Cosimo II, 1605-1621  
Ferdinando II, 1621-1670  
Cosimo III, 1670-1723  
John Gaston, 1723-1737

Francia, 1737-1765 (duke of  
Tuscany; Holy Roman Emperor, 1740-  
1765)  
Leopold I, 1765-1790 (Holy Roman  
Emperor, 1790-1792)  
Ferdinand III, 1790-1801  
To France, 1801-1815  
Ferdinand III, 1815-1824

Leopold II, 1824-1860

TWO SICILIES

See Naples; Sicily

VENICE

Republic to 1797  
To Austria, 1797-1805

To France, 1805-1814  
To Austria, 1814-1866

YUGOSLAVIA

See Croatia; Montenegro; Serbia; Slovenia



